THE MEGHA-DŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA

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SECOND REVISED EDITION BY
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WITH A GENERAL INTRODUCTION BY
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

For the honour of being invited to prepare an authentic edition of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, it is my pleasant duty to thank the members of the Sanskrit Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi and its distinguished Vice-Chairman, Dr S. Radhakrishnan. As far as possible, within certain limits of time, all available materials have been utilized and it is hoped that nothing important has been overlooked. The extent of materials, as well as the method of editing, has been indicated in the Introduction and even at the risk of a little lengthiness the critical footnotes to the text are meant to give a general view of the text-tradition. What the new features of this edition are the reader can easily find out, if he cares; but I should like to think that the one thing he cares for is the poem itself, and not the comparative merits of different editions. Let me hope that this edition will not only stimulate further research into the text-problem, but also help further study and enjoyment of this masterpiece of the great poet, which should be its ultimate object.

Among those friends who readily assisted me by loan of rare books and manuscripts, I return my sincere thanks to Dr S. K. Belvalkar, Dr V. Raghavan, Dr P. K. Gode, Dr V. G. Paranjpe, and Dr J. B. Chaudhuri. I also thank Sri Krishna Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, for uniform courtesy in rendering whatever assistance I required. To my former pupil, Mrs. Sibani Dasgupta, M.A., D.PHIL. I am indebted for help in many ways in preparing this edition and its press-copy. Sincere thanks are also due to my former pupil and present colleague, Dr R. C. Hazra, for his kindness in looking over the final proofs.

Calcutta
15th June, 1956

S. K. DE

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The *Megha-dūta* of Kalidasa was the first to be published in the project undertaken by the Sahitya Akademi for bringing out a series of critical editions of the works of Kalidasa. Dr S. K. De who was entrusted with the *Megha-dūta* in this series was a scholar well-known for his standing in the field of Textual Criticism, having taken an important part in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. His edition for the Akademi was based by him not only on a study of all the numerous previous editions of this popular poem but also on the examination of the text as followed by its numerous commentators and its adaptations and translations in Sanskrit, Indian languages, and the Singhalese. As about forty mss. had been used for the editions already available and Foulkes had compiled the readings from South Indian mss., it was found unnecessary to collate fresh mss. Scrutiny of some fresh Bengali and Devanagari mss. showed that no more significant variants could be added. Dr De's edition was brought out in 1956 and because of the popularity of the *Megha-dūta*, this edition was sold out and requests had been made to the Akademi to bring out a second edition. On behalf of the Akademi, I have great pleasure in placing in the hands of scholars this second edition of the work. In revising the work for the second edition, I have corrected the errors and printing mistakes in the whole book, including the Introduction and the General Introduction and wherever necessary I have added also further references.

I was struck by the Editor's Introduction and in view of his knowledge and maturity in Textual Criticism, I think it would be useful to draw attention to some of the valuable observations which he had made in the course of his Introduction on questions of readings, recensions, the comparative value of mss. and other sources, the criteria for the constitution of the critical text, all of which will be of help to those who are engaged in the work of critical study and edition of texts:

1. In the case of a popular classical text like that of the

Megha-dūta, Dr De says that the circumstances of text-transmission make it clear that not the existing mss. which are mostly later in date, but the commentaries are to be taken as our chief guide for textual study.

2. The adaptations, such as are found in the poems of Jain poets, are not automatically of higher authority. Dr De adds "No absolute criterion, therefore, can be laid down and each testimony is to be judged on the value of the text-tradition that it represents."

3. The fact that a ms. is written in Śāradā need not prove its superiority (footnote 65) and even a Nepali ms. may carry nine spurious verses. Even the Tibetan translation is not free from conflation in its text.

4. Regarding the readings of particular passages, words or phrases, no manuscript or commentary is sacrosanct and every reading has to be tested by its intrinsic probability.

5. Lastly "one cannot be dogmatic with regard to the authenticity of the good number of readings nor positively certain. Variations there must be in a classical text so widely read and commented upon and possibly we are still considerably away from Kalidasa's exact expressions in some cases but the variations so far found are not greatly important and do not on the whole seem to affect very much the poet's own text in its pristine form."

Madras
21.5.70

V. Raghavan

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GREAT classics of literature spring from profound depths in human experience. They come to us who live centuries later in vastly different conditions as the voice of our own experience. They release echoes within ourselves of what we never suspected was there. The deeper one goes into one's own experience facing destiny, fighting fate, or enjoying love, the more does one's experience have in common with the experiences of others in other climes and ages. The most unique is the most universal. The Dialogues of the Buddha or of Plato, the dramas of Sophocles, the plays of Shakespeare are both national and universal. The more profoundly they are rooted in historical traditions, the more uniquely do they know themselves and elicit powerful responses from others. There is a timeless and spaceless quality about great classics.

Kālidāsa is the great representative of India's spirit, grace and genius. The Indian national consciousness is the base from which his works grow. Kālidāsa has absorbed India's cultural heritage, made it his own, enriched it, given it universal scope and significance. Its spiritual direction, its intellectual amplitude, its artistic expressions, its political forms and economic arrangements, all find utterance in fresh, vital, shining phrases. We find in his works at their best a simple dignity of language, a precision of phrase, a classical taste, a cultivated judgment, an intense poetic sensibility and a fusion of thought and feeling. In his dramas, we find pathos, power, beauty, and great skill in the construction of plots and delineation of characters. He is at home in royal courts and on mountain tops, in happy homes and forest hermitages. He has a balanced outlook which enables him to deal sympathetically with men of high and low degree, fishermen, courtezans, servants. These great qualities make his works belong to the literature of the world. Humanity recognises itself in them though they deal with Indian themes. In India Kālidāsa is recognised as the greatest poet and dramatist in Sanskrit literature. While once the poets were being counted, Kālidāsa as being the first occupied the last finger. But the ring-finger

remained true to its name, *anāmikā*, nameless, since the second to Kālidāsa has not yet been found.[1]

Date

Tradition associates Kālidāsa with king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī who founded the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.[2] The change in the name of the hero of *Vikramorvaśīya* from Purūravas to Vikrama lends support to the view that Kālidāsa belonged to the court of king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. Agnimitra who is the hero of the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* was not a wellknown monarch to deserve special notice by Kālidāsa. He belonged to the second century before Christ and his capital was Vidiśā. Kālidāsa's selection of this episode and his reference to Vidiśā as the famous capital of a king in *Megha-dūta* suggest that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnimitra. It is clear that Kālidāsa flourished after Agnimitra (c. 150 B.C.) and before A.D. 634, the date of the famous Aihole inscription which refers to Kālidāsa as a great poet. If the suggestion that some verses of Mandasor inscription of A.D. 473 assume knowledge of Kālidāsa's writings is accepted, then his date cannot be later than the end of the fourth century A.D. There are similarities between Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* and Kālidāsa's works. If Aśvaghoṣa is the debtor, then Kālidāsa was of an earlier date than the first century A.D.[3] If Kālidāsa

1. *purā kavīnāṁ gaṇanā-prasaṅge*
kaniṣṭhikādhiṣṭhita-kālidāsā
adyāpi tat-tulya-kaver abhāvād
anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva

2. The Jain Kālakācārya Kathānaka records that the Śakas invaded Ujjayinī and overthrew the dynasty of Gardhabhilla, who was styled Mahendrāditya. Some years afterwards, his son, Vikramāditya, repelled the invaders and re-established the old dynasty. It is sometimes said that the play *Vikramorvaśīya* celebrates this re-conquest. Ūrvaśī is the city of Ujjayinī ruled by Mahendrāditya. She was conquered by Keśin, a demon, i.e. the chief of the bearded Śakas. The city became desolate and like Ūrvaśī was transformed into a creeper. Prince Vikramāditya regained the capital with a valour capable of obliging even his father Mahendra.

mahendropakāra-paryāptena vikrama-mahimnā vardhate bhavān.

Mahendra conferred the throne on the prince and himself retired to the forest. To commemorate the great victory, Vikrama founded an era which was later called by his name.

3. The following verse of Aśvaghoṣa may be an implied criticism of Kālidāsa's view:

śailendra-putrīṁ prati yena viddho devo'pi śambhuś calito babhūva |
na cintayaty eṣa tam eva bāṇaṃ kiṃ syād acitto na śaraḥ sa eṣaḥ ||

Buddhacarita XIII. 16.

is the debtor then his date would be later than the first century A.D.

It is suggested that Kālidāsa belongs to the Gupta period and lived in the reign of Chandragupta II, who had the title of Vikramāditya.[4] He came to power about A.D. 345 and ruled till about 414. Whichever date we adopt we are in the region of reasonable conjecture and nothing more.

Works

Kālidāsa speaks very little of himself and we cannot therefore be sure of his authorship of many works attributed to him. There is, however, general agreement about Kālidāsa's authorship of the following works:

1. *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, a drama in seven acts dealing with the love and marriage of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā; (Abbr. S.)

2. *Vikramorvaśīya*, a drama in five acts dealing with the love and marriage of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī; (Abbr. V.)

3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a drama in five acts dealing with the love of Mālavikā and Agnimitra; (Abbr. M.)

4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, an epic poem of nineteen cantos describing the lives of the Kings of the solar race; (Abbr. R.)

Again compare Kālidāsa's line in *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 42:
jaḍīkṛtas tryambaka-vīkṣaṇena vajraṁ mumukṣann iva vajrapāṇiḥ with *Buddha-carita* line:
tastambha bāhuḥ sagadas tato'sya purandarasyeva purā savajraḥ

4. Professor A. Berriedale Keith writes:
"Kālidāsa was later than Aśvaghoṣa and than the dramatist Bhāsa; he knew Greek terms as his use of Jāmitra proves; the prākrit of his dramas is decidedly later than Aśvaghoṣa's and Bhāsa's and he cannot be put before the Gupta age..... We must remember that Chandragupta II had the style of Vikramāditya with whose name tradition consistently connects Kālidāsa. Nor is it absurd to see in the title *Kumārasambhava* a hint at the young Kumāragupta or even in *Vikramorvaśīya* an allusion to the title Vikramāditya."—*A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1920), p. 80.
Sir William Jones places Kālidāsa in the first century B.C. Dr. Peterson says: "Kālidāsa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if indeed, he does not overtop it."
R. T. H. Griffith remarks: "About the time when Horace and Virgil were shedding an undying lustre upon the reign of Augustus, our poet Kālidāsa lived, loved and sang, giving and taking honour, at the polished court of the no less munificent patrons of Sanskrit literature, at the period of its highest perfection."—Preface to *The Birth of the War-God* (1918).

5. *Kumārasambhava*, also an epic poem of seventeen cantos, dealing with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and the birth of Kumāra, the lord of war; (Abbr. K.)

6. *Megha-dūta*, a poem of 111 stanzas describing the message of a Yakṣa to his wife, to be conveyed through a cloud;

7. *Ṛtu-saṁhāra*, a descriptive account of the six seasons. Kālidāsa takes up his themes from the traditional lore of the country and transforms them to achieve his object. For example, in the epic story Śakuntalā was a calculating, worldly young woman and Duṣyanta a selfish lover. The poet wishes to exhibit the sentiment of love from its first awakening in a hermitage girl to its fullest perfection through the stages of separation, frustration, etc. In his own words, a play must present the diversity of life, and communicate charm and sweetness to men of varied tastes:

> *traiguṇyodbhovam atra lokacaritaṁ nānā-rasaṁ dṛśyate*
> *nāṭyaṁ bhinna-rucer janasya bahudhāpy ekaṁ samārādhanam*

Some of his themes seem to be unrealistic such as the carrying of a message by a cloud.[5] The poet anticipates the objection and answers it:

> *dhūma-jyotiḥ-salila-marutāṁ saṁnipātaḥ kva meghaḥ*
> *sandeśārthāḥ kva paṭukaraṇaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ prāpaṇīyāḥ ?*
> *ity autsukyād aparigaṇayan guhyakas taṁ yayāce*
> *kāmārtā hi prakṛti-kṛpaṇāḥ cetanācetaneṣu.*

"Where is a cloud, which is a composite of smoke, light, water and air, and where are the messages that can be conveyed by living beings endowed with strong limbs? Without considering this, the Yakṣa in his eagerness begged the cloud to carry his message. Those that are love-stricken are by nature undiscriminating between conscious and unconscious beings."[6] Rāma's longing for his lost wife may have suggested to Kālidāsa Yakṣa's sorrow for the wife from whom he is separated.

5. The cloud as a messenger is an old, pre-Christian, literary motif in China. We find it in Kiu yuan (or Chu yuan), the Chinese poet who died about 274 B.C. Cf. this echo of Megha-dūta in Hśukan:

> O floating clouds that swim in the heaven above
> Bear on your wings these words to him I love.
>
> —H. A. Giles: *A History of Chinese Literature*, p. 119.

6. I.5.

Life

We do not know any details about Kālidāsa's life. Numerous legends have gathered round his name which have no historical value. From his writings it is clear that he lived in an age of polished elegance and leisure, was greatly attached to the arts of song and dance, drawing and painting, was acquainted with the sciences of the day, versed in law and learned in the philosophical systems and ritual practices. He travelled widely in India and seems to have been familiar with the geography of the country from the Himālayas to Kanyākumārī. His graphic descriptions of the Himālayan scenes, of the saffron-flower, the plant of which grows in Kashmir, look like those of one who has personal acquaintance with them. He was sensitive to beauty in nature and human life.

Kālidāsa had self-confidence. In one place he says: "If you have hearts which can melt in pity, do not set aside this canto of mine."

tad eṣa sargaḥ karuṇārdracittair
na me bhavadbhiḥ pratiṣedhanīyaḥ[7]

This sense of assurance is not inconsistent with humility. He opens his *Raghuvaṁśa* with a confession of his rashness in undertaking the work:

kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva cālpaviṣayā matiḥ
titīrṣur dustaraṁ mohād uḍupenāsmi sāgaram[8]

"Where is the race originating from the Sun and where is my talent limited in scope? Through infatuation, I am desirous of crossing with a raft the ocean that is difficult to cross."

mandaḥ kavi-yaśaḥ-prārthī gamiṣyāmy upahāsyatām
prāṁśulabhye phale lobhād udbāhur iva vāmanaḥ[9]

"Foolish and yet longing for a poet's renown, I shall become an object of ridicule, like a dwarf with his hands raised through greed towards a fruit accessible (only) to the tall." If he still prefers

7. R. XIV. 42. The contextual meaning of *sarga* here, as in other places like *gṛhāṇa śastraṁ yadi sarga eṣa te*, is, of course, 'resolve'.
8. I. 2.
9. I. 3.

to speak of the kings of the Raghu race, it is because he can count on ancient poets who have already opened the way and their virtues are so compelling in their character.[10]

Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra* defines *rīti* as *viśiṣṭā padaracanā*, a particular style of expression, and *Vaidarbhī rīti*, of which Kālidāsa is the master, as consisting of the following features:

śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṁ sukumāratā
artha-vyaktir udāratvam ojaḥ-kānti-samādhayaḥ

Suggestiveness, serenity, balance, sweetness, delicacy, clarity of sense, breadth of expression, vigour of thought, brilliance of diction and harmony of sentiments.

The master artist suggests by a few touches what others fail to do even by elaborate discourses. Kālidāsa is famous for his economy of words and naturalness of speech in which sound and sense match. His pen pictures are graceful and perfect, the royal chariot in full speed,[11] the running deer,[12] Ūrvaśī's bursting into tears,[13] Nārada's appearance in the sky like a moving *kalpa-vṛkṣa*.[14] He is master in the use of simile.

sarasijam anuviddhaṁ śaivalenāpi ramyaṁ
malinam api himāṁśor lakṣma lakṣmīṁ tanoti
iyam adhika-manojñā valkalenāpi tanvī
kim iva hi madhurāṇāṁ maṇḍanaṁ nākṛtīnām

"A lotus, though intertwined with moss, is charming. The speck, though dark, heightens the beauty of the moon. This slim one, even with the bark dress, is more lovely. For what is not an embellishment of lovely forms ?"[15]

Again:

eko hi doṣo guṇa-saṁnipāte
nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇeṣvivāṅkaḥ

"Even as the single stain of the moon is not noticed by one who gazes at the beams that flow endlessly, even so no one dares to

10. I. 3. & 4.
11. V. I. 4.
12. S. I. 7.
13. V. V. 15.
14. V. V. 19.
15. S. I. 17.

blame a shade of weakness in a hero's fame." Practically on every page we have illustrations of Kālidāsa's mastery over the use of figures of speech.

Kālidāsa's writings instruct not by direct teaching but by gentle persuasion as by a loving wife. Mammaṭa says: *kāntāsaṁmitatayopadeśayuje* and *rāmādivad vartitavyam, na rāvaṇādivat*. By an aesthetic presentation of great ideals, the artist leads us to an acceptance of the same. We live vicariously the life of every character that is set before us, and out of it all comes a large measure of understanding of mankind in general. Kālidāsa projects his rich and glowing personality on a great cultural tradition and gives utterance to its ideals of salvation, order, love. He expresses the desires, the urges, the hopes, the dreams, the successes and the failures of man in his struggle to make himself at home in the world. India has stood for a whole, integrated life and resisted any fragmentation of it. The poet describes the psychological conflicts that divide the soul and helps us to pull the whole pattern together.

Kālidāsa's works preserve for us moments of beauty, incidents of courage, acts of sacrifice and fleeting moods of the human heart. His works will continue to be read for that indefinable illumination about the human predicament which is the work of a great poet. Many of his lines have become almost like proverbs in Sanskrit.

Religion

Kumārasambhava opens with a verse where the poet speaks as if the Himālayas were the measuring rod spanning the wide land from the east to the western sea:

asty uttarasyāṁ diśi devatātmā
himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya
sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ.

He suggests that the culture developed in the Himālayan regions may be the 'measuring rod' of the cultures of the world.[16] This culture is essentially spiritual in quality. We are ordinarily

16. Cf. Manu:
etad-deśa-parasūtasya sakāśād agra-janmanaḥ
svaṁ svaṁ caritraṁ śikṣeran prithivyāṁ sarva-mānavāḥ

imprisoned in the wheel of time, in historicity and so are restricted to the narrow limits of existence. Our aim should be to lift ourselves out of our entanglement to an awareness of the real which is behind and beyond all time and history, that which does not become, that which is, absolute, non-historical being itself. We cannot think it, enclose it within categories, images and verbal structures. We know more than we can think and express in historical forms. The end of man is to become aware by experience of this absolute reality. Compare the words of *Raghuvaṁśa: sa brahmabhūyāṁ gatim ājagāma.*[17] The man of enlightenment reaches the supreme timeless life. The performer of good deeds has heaven for his share. We know the real by the deepest part of our being: *ātmānam ātmanā vetsi.*[18] The Real is the knower and the known: *vedyaṁ ca veditā cāsi.*[19] Again: *yam akṣaraṁ vedavido vidus tam ātmānam ātmany avalokayantam.*[20] The Supreme leads a life of contemplation. Though he grants the fruits of others' austerities, he himself performs austerities: *svayaṁ vidhātā tapasaḥ phalānāṁ kenāpi kāmena tapas cacāra.*[21]

The Absolute which is the Real beyond all darkness is superior to the division of spirit and matter. It is omniscient, omnipresent and almighty. It manifests itself in the three forms (*tri-mūrti*), Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the maker, the preserver and the destroyer. These gods are of equal rank and a believer may select any form which appeals to him for worship. In daily life, Kālidāsa was a follower of the Śaiva system. The opening invocations of the three dramas show that Kālidāsa was a devotee of Śiva.

yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā vahati vidhihutam yā havir yā ca hotrī
ye dve kālaṁ vidhattaḥ śruti-viṣaya-guṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam
yām āhuḥ sarva-bīja-prakṛtir iti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ
pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir īśaḥ
—*Śākunatala*

"May the Supreme Lord endowed with eight visible forms, water, the first creation of the Creator, (fire) which carries the oblation offered according to rule, (the priest) who is the offerer of the oblation, (those) two (visible forms, the sun and the moon) which

17. R. XVIII. 28.
18. K. II. 10; see *Bhagavadgītā*. X. 15.
19. K. II. 15; see *Bhagavadgītā*, XI. 17.
20. K. III. 50.
21. K. I. 57.

regulate time, (that *Ākāśa*) which perpetually pervades the universe, having the quality (sound) perceptible by the ear, (the earth) which they call the source of all created things, (air) by which living creations (become) possessed of life, (may he) preserve you."

vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣaṁ vyāpya sthitam rodasī
yasminn īśvara ity ananya-viṣayaḥ śabdo yathārthākṣaraḥ
antar yaś ca mumukṣubhir niyamita-prāṇādibhir mṛgyate
sa sthāṇuḥ sthira-bhakti-yoga-sulabho niḥśreyasāyāstu vaḥ

—*Vikramorvaśīya*

"May he, who is hailed by the Vedāntas as the Supreme Spirit, who still remains (transcendant) after pervading (both heaven and earth), to whom alone the specific designation Īśvara (supreme ruler) applies true to a syllable, and he who is sought inwardly by restraining prāṇa and the other vital airs, by those who desire to attain (complete) emancipation, (may he) the eternal, who is easily attainable by the path of steadfast devotion, bestow on you supreme bliss."

The three methods of *jñāna*, *yoga* and *bhakti* are mentioned, and the last is said to be the easiest path.

ekaiśvarye sthito'pi praṇata-bahu-phale yaḥ svayaṁ kṛttivāsāḥ
kāntā-saṁmiśra-deho'pyaviṣaya-manasāṁ yaḥ parastād yatīnām
aṛṭābhir yasya kṛtsnaṁ jagad api tanubhir bibhrato nābhimānaḥ
sanmārgālokanāya vyapanayatu sa vas tāmasīṁ vṛttim īśaḥ

—*Mālavikāgnimitra*

"He, who, while possessing supreme powers that bear manifold fruits for his humble devotees, is himself clad in elephant hide, who, though having his body united with that of his beloved, is yet the foremost of ascetics, whose minds are clear of sense-objects, and who, though sustaining the entire universe with (his) eight forms, is yet utterly free from a sense of egoity, may that Lord (Śiva) dispel your tendency dominated by *tamas*, that you may behold the path of righteousness."

The opening verse of *Raghuvaṁśa* reads:

vāgarthāviva saṁpṛktau vāgartha-pratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatī-parameśvarau

While in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the Lord should set us on the right

path, *sanmārga;* in *Vikramorvaśīya,* he is said to be easily attainable by devotion, *bhakti-yoga-sulabha;* in *Śākuntala,* the Lord in his eight-fold forms is seen. Immediate insight into the Divine reality is the aim of religion.

Though Kālidāsa worshipped the Divine as Śiva, his attitude was not in any way exclusive or narrow-minded. He had the catholic attitude of traditional Hinduism.[22] He treated with great respect the views of others. In *Raghuvaṁśa,* the gods approach Viṣṇu and praise him:

O thou who didst create this All,
Who dost preserve it, lest it fall,
Who wilt destroy it and its ways—
To thee, O triune Lord, be praise.

As into heaven's water run
The tastes of earth—yet it is one,
So thou art all the things that range
The Universe, yet dost not change.

Far, far removed, yet ever near;
Untouched by passion, yet austere;
Sinless, yet pitiful of heart;
Ancient, yet free from age—Thou art.

Though uncreate, thou seekest birth;
Dreaming, thou watchest heaven and earth,
Passionless, smitest low thy foes;
Who knows thy nature, Lord? Who knows ?

Though many different paths, O Lord,
May lead us to some great reward,
They gather and are merged in Thee
Like floods of Ganges in the sea.

The saints who give Thee every thought,
Whose every act for Thee is wrought,
Yearn for thine everlasting peace,
For bliss with Thee, that cannot cease.

22. Yuan Chwang tells us that at the great festival of Prayāga, King Harṣa dedicated a statue to the Buddha on the first day, to the Sun the favourite deity of his father, on the second and to Śiva on the third.

Like pearls that grow in ocean's night,
Like sunbeams radiantly bright,
Thy strange and wonder-working ways,
Defeat extravagance of praise.

If songs that to Thy glory tend
Should weary grow or take an end,
Our impotence must bear the blame,
And not Thine unexhausted name.[23]

In *Kumārasaṁbhava*,[24] Brahmā is praised as the highest God; the beginning, the middle and the end of the world.

atha sarvasya dhātāraṁ te sarve sarvatomukham
vāgīśaṁ vāgbhir arthyābhiḥ praṇipatyopatasthire
namas trimūrtaye tubhyaṁ prāk sṛṣṭeḥ kevalātmane
guṇa-traya-vivbhāgāya paścād bhedam upeyuṣe
jagad-yonir ayonis tvaṁ jagad-anto nirantakaḥ
jagad-ādir anādis tvaṁ jagad-īśo nirīśvaraḥ
ātmānam ātmanā vetsi sṛjasy ātmānam ātmanā
ātmanā kṛtinā ca tvaṁ ātmany eva pralīyase

Kālidāsa has sympathy with all forms of religion and is free from prejudice and fanaticism. Each person can tread the path which appeals to him,[25] for the different forms of Godhead are the manifestations of the One Supreme who is the formless behind all forms.

tvam eva havyam hotā ca bhojyam bhoktā ca śāśvataḥ
vedaṁ ca vediiā cāsi dhyātā dhyeyaṁ ca yat param.[26]
Again: *ekaiva mūrtir bibhide tridhā.*[27]

The objective of religion is freedom from subjection to time, from rebirth, which Duṣyanta desires for himself in the last verse.

mamāpi ca kṣapayatu nīlalohitaḥ
punarbhavaṁ parigataśaktir ātmabhūḥ

23. Translation by Arthur W. Ryder, *Kalidasa's Works*: Everyman's Library.
24. II. 3, 4, 9, 10.
25. K. X. 26.
26. K. II. 4, 15.
27. K. VII. 44.

Raghu, after installing Aja on the throne, retires to the forest, takes to a life of meditation and attains that which is beyond darkness:

tamasaḥ paramāpadavyayaṁ
puruṣaṁ yogasamādhinā raghuḥ[28]

Until the end of religion, the realisation of the Supreme, the ascent from the vanity of time is attained, we will have opportunities for making progress towards the goal. In this journey towards the end we will be governed by the law of karma. Kālidāsa accepts the theory of rebirth:

ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurāṁś ca niśamya śabdān
paryutsukībhavati yat sukhito'pi jantuḥ
tac cetasā smarati nūnam abodhapūrvaṁ
bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntara-sauhṛdāni

Sītā, when rejected by Rāma, says:

"When he is born, I'll scorn my queenly station
Gaze on the sun, and live a hell on earth,
That I may know no pain of separation
From you, my husband, in another birth."[29]

This life is one stage in the path to perfection. Even as the present life is the result of our past deeds, we can shape our future by our efforts in this life. The world is under a moral government. The good will ultimately triumph. If we have no tragedies in Kālidāsa, it is because he affirms the ultimate reality of concord and decency. Subject to this conviction, he induces our sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men and women.

Dharma

Kālidāsa's writings dispose of the misconception that the Hindu mind was attentive to transcendental matters, and neglectful of mundane affairs. Kālidāsa's range of experience was wide. He enjoyed life, people, pictures and flowers. He does not separate men from the cosmos and from the forces of religion. He knows the full range of human sorrow and desire, meagre joy and endless hope.

28. R. VIII. 24.
29. R. XIV. 66. Ryder's translation. 'He' refers to the child in her womb.

He points to a harmony of the four main interests of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, the ethical, the economic, the artistic and the spiritual. The economic including the political and the artistic should be controlled by ethical norms. Ends and means are bound together. Life becomes livable only through valid ties. To cleanse and illuminate those ties was the poet's task.

Describing the first king in *Raghuvaṁśa*,, Kālidāsa says that Dilīpa's *artha* and *kāma* were centred in *dharma*:

apy artha-kāmau tasyāstām dharma eva manīṣiṇaḥ.[30]

Kālidāsa did not feel called upon to choose between religion and morality on the one side and progress and security on the other. These are not hostile to each other.

History is not a natural but a moral phenomenon. It is not mere temporal succession. Its essence lies in the spiritual which informs the succession. The historian should penetrate and comprehend that inward moral dynamism. History is the work of man's ethical will of which liberty and creativity are the expressions.

The kings of the Raghu race were pure from birth, ruled over extensive domains stretching from earth to the ocean, *āsamudra-kṣitīśānām*.[31] They amassed riches for charity, spoke measured words for the sake of truth, were eager for victory for the sake of glory and were householders for the sake of offspring. They gained knowledge in childhood, enjoyed the pleasures of life in youth, adopted the ascetic life in old age and in the end cast away their bodies by yoga or meditation.

tyāgāya saṁbhṛtārthānāṁ satyāya mitabhāṣiṇām
yaśase vijigīṣūṇāṁ, prajāyai gṛhamedhinām
śaiśave'bhyasta-vidyānāṁ, yauvane viṣayaiṣiṇāṁ
vārdhake munivṛttīnāṁ yogenānte tanu-tyajām[32]

There is time for study under a teacher, a period for married life and towards the end of life's journey we have to set our hearts on things eternal. In *Vikramorvaśīya*, the king tells his son that it is time he entered the second stage of the householder, after having completed the stage of studentship.

30. I. 25.
31. I. 5.
32. I. 7-8.

ayi vatsa uṣitaṁ tvayā pūrvasminn āśrame, dvitīyam adhyāsituṁ tava samayaḥ.[33]

The kings collected revenues for the prosperity of their subjects, *prajānām eva bhūtyartham,*[34] even as the sun takes up water to give it back a thousand-fold. The rulers must stand up for *dharma,* justice. The king is the real father of the people, he educates them, protects them and provides for their livelihood, while the actual parents are only the causes of their physical birth:

prajānāṁ vinayādhānād rakṣaṇād bharaṇād api
sa pitā pitaras tāsāṁ kevalaṁ janmahetavaḥ.[35]

Every one in Aja's kingdom thought that he was a personal friend of the king:

aham eva mato mahīpater iti sarvaḥ prakṛtiṣvacintayat.[36]

The ascetic tells the king in *Śākuntala:* "Your weapon is for the protection of the afflicted and not for striking at the innocent," *ārta-trāṇāya vaḥ śastraṁ na prahartum anāgasi,*[37] Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, from whom this country takes its name, is called *sarvadamana*—not merely one who conquered every ferocious beast of the forest but has achieved self-control also. Self-control is essential for rulership.[38]

In *Raghuvaṁśa,*[39] Agnivarṇa gives himself to dissipation. He has so many mistresses that he cannot always call them by their right names. He develops a wasting disease, and as, even in that condition, he is unable to resist the pleasures of the senses, he dies.

Kālidāsa gives us pictures of the saint and the sage, the hero and the heroine with their nobility. They are the directing minds within a civilisation. Nobility and self-control are their distinctive characteristics. Discipline is essential for a decent human life. Kālidāsa says: "Even though produced in a mine, a gem is not worthy of being set in gold, O noble lady, so long as it is uncut."

apyākara-samutpannā maṇi-jātir asaṁskṛtā
jātarūpeṇa kalyāṇi na hi saṁyogam arhati.[40]

33. V.
34. R. I. 18.
35. R. I. 24.
36. VIII. 8.
37. I. 10.
38. Sage Mārīca remarks: *bharata iti lokasya bharaṇāt.* He is called Bharata because he supports the world, VII. 33.
39. XIX.
40. M. V. 18.

In the spirit of the country, Kālidāsa exalts the quality of asceticism:

śama-pradhāneṣu tapo-dhaneṣu
gūḍhaṁ hi dāhātmakam asti tejaḥ

In hermits with tranquillity as the chief characteristic, whose wealth is penance, there is, verily, concealed, consuming fiery energy.[41] Though Kālidāsa's works exalt austerity and adore saints and sages, he does not worship the begging bowl.

The laws of *dharma* are not static and unchanging. The tradition of the past has to be interpreted by one's own insight and awareness. Tradition and individual experience interpenetrate. We are the inheritors of the past but are also trustees of the future. In the last analysis, each one must find the guide for one's conduct in the innermost centre of himself. When Arjuna in the opening chapter of the Bhagavadgītā declines to conform to the demands of society which impose on him as a kṣatriya the obligation to fight, when Socrates says, "Men of Athens, I will obey God rather than you," they are taking their stand on inward integrity rather than on outward conformity.

Kālidāsa tells us that in matters of doubt about one's duty, the authority is the voice of conscience, the wisdom of the heart:

satāṁ hi saṁdeha-padeṣu vastuṣu
pramāṇam antaḥ-karaṇa-pravṛttayaḥ.[42]

Love of Nature

In early Vedic literature the unity of all life, animate and inanimate, is indicated and many of the Vedic deities are personifications of striking aspects of nature. The idea of retreat into nature, a mountain top or a forest hermitage, in search of the revelation of the spirit of the universe has been with us from early times. As human beings we have our roots in nature and participate in its life in many ways. The rhythm of night and day, changes of seasons suggest

41. Ś. II. 7.
42. Ś. I. 19. Cf. Manu:
śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāraḥ svasya ca priyam ātmanaḥ
samyak saṁkalpajaḥ kāmo dharmamūlam idaṁ Satām.
Kumārila quotes Kālidāsa in his *Tantravārttika.*

man's changing moods, variety and capriciousness. Nature had not become mechanical and impersonal for Kālidāsa. It had still its enchantment. His characters have a sensitive appreciation of plants and trees, of hills and rivers and a feeling of brotherhood for animals. We see in his writings flowers which bloom, birds which soar and animals which spring. We find a striking description of the love of the cow in *Raghuvaṁśa*.[43] The *Ṛtu-saṁhāra* gives a moving account of the six seasons. It reveals not only Kālidāsa's vision of nature's beauty but also an understanding of human moods and desires. In *Śākuntala*, when the curtain rises, Śakuntalā and her two friends are seen watering the plants, creepers and trees of Kaṇva's hermitage where the stars and colours in the sky, the pretty flowers and the lively animals are vital parts of human experience. Śakuntalā does not look upon nurturing the plants as a drudgery but finds joy in it:

na kevalam tāta-niyogaḥ, asti mamāpi sodara-sneha eteṣu

"—not merely because my father has ordered it, I also have fraternal affection for them."

For Kālidāsa rivers, mountains, forests, trees possess a conscious individuality as animals, men and gods.

Śakuntalā is a child of nature. When she was abandoned by her *amānuṣī* mother, Menakā, the birds of the sky pick her up and rear her until the sage Kaṇva takes her under his fostering care. Śakuntalā tended the plants, watched them grow and bloom, and the occasions when they burst into blossoms and bore flowers and fruits were celebrated as festive days. Like a loving mother Śakuntalā reared up her pet animals and plants. No wonder they responded. On the occasion of Śakuntalā's wedding, trees sent their gifts, forest deities showered their blessings and cuckoos cooed aloud their joy. The hermitage was filled with grief at the prospect of Śakuntalā's departure. The deer drop their mouthfuls, the peacocks stop their dancing and the creepers shed their leafy tears. Kaṇva says of her:

pātuṁ na prathamaṁ vyavasyati jalaṁ yuṣmāsv apīteṣu yā
nādatte priyamaṇḍanāpi bhavatāṁ snehena yā pallavam
ādye vaḥ kusuma-prasūti-samaye yasyā bhavaty utsavaḥ
seyaṁ yāti śakuntalā patigṛhaṁ sarvair anujñāyatāṁ

43. II.

"She who never tries to drink water first when you have not drunk, who, though fond of decoration, does not out of affection for you pluck a blossom, whose great joy is at the period of the first appearance of blossom, even that Sakuntalā now departs to the house of her husband, let her be permitted by you all."[43a]

When Sītā is cast away, the peacocks abruptly stop their dance, the trees shed off flowers, and the female deer throw away the half-chewed darbha grass from their mouths:

nṛtyaṁ mayūrāḥ kusumāni vṛkṣāḥ darbhān upāttān vijahur hariṇyaḥ
tasyāḥ prapanne sama-duḥkha-bhāvam atyantam āsid ruditaṁ vane'pi.[44]

Kālidāsa takes up an object and creates it to the eye. He had a strong visualising power. Look at the vivid description of the flight of the antelope which Duṣyanta pursues to the hermitage:

grīvābhaṅgābhirāmaṁ muhur anupatati syandane baddhadṛṣṭiḥ
paścārdhena praviṣṭaḥ śarapatanabhayād bhūyasā pūrvakāyam
darbhair ardhāvalīḍhaiḥ śramavivṛta-mukha-bhraṁśibhiḥ kīrṇavartmā
paśyodagraplutatvād viyati bahutaraṁ stokaṁ urvyāṁ prayāti

"His glance fixed on the chariot ever and anon he leaps up gracefully bending his neck; through fear of the arrow's fall he draws ever his hinder part into the front of his body; he strews his path with the grass, half-chewed, which drops from his mouth opened in weariness; so much aloft he bounds that he runs rather in the air than on earth."

Kālidāsa's knowledge of nature was not only accurate but sympathetic. His observation was wedded to imagination. His descriptions of the snows of the Himālayas, of the music of the mighty current of the Ganges, of the different animals illustrate his human heart and appreciation of natural beauty.

No man can reach his full stature until he realises the dignity and worth of life that is not human. We must develop sympathy with all forms of life. The world is not made only for man.

Love and Marriage

The love of man and woman attracted Kālidāsa and he lavished all his rich imagination in the description of the different kinds of

43a-IV. 9.
44. R. XIV. 69.

love. He does not suffer from any inhibitions.[45] His women have a greater appeal than his men; for they reveal a timeless universal quality, whereas the men are dull and variable. They live on the surface while the women suffer from the depths. The competitiveness and self-assertion of the man may be useful in the office, factory or battlefield, but do not make for refinement, charm and serenity. The women keep the tradition alive with their love for order and harmony.

When Kālidāsa describes feminine beauty, he adopts the conventional account and falls into the danger of sensuous engrossment and sometimes over-elaboration. In *Megha-dūta*, the Yakṣa gives a description of his wife to the cloud:

tanvī, śyāmā, śikhari-daśanā, pakva-bimbādharoṣṭhī,
madhye kṣāmā, cakita-hariṇī-prekṣaṇā, nimna-nābhiḥ
śroṇī-bhārād alasa-gamanā, stoka-namrā stanābhyām,
yā tatra syād yuvati-viṣaye sṛṣṭir ādyeva dhātuḥ.

"There she lives who is, as it were, the first creation of Brahmā amongst women, slim, youthful (or fair in complexion) with pointed teeth, a lower lip red like a ripe *bimba* fruit, thin at the waist, with her eyes like those of a frightened female deer, with a deep navel, slow in gait on account of heavy hips and bending a little low by the weight of her breasts."[46]

See also the king's description of Mālavikā in II.

dīrghākṣaṁ śarad-indu-kānti vadanaṁ bāhū natāvaṁsayoḥ
saṁkṣiptaṁ nibiḍonnata-stanam uraḥ pārśve pramṛṣṭe iva
madhyaḥ pāṇimito' mitaṁ ca jaghanaṁ pādāvarālāṅgulī
chando nartayitur yathaiva manasi śliṣṭaṁ tathāsyāḥ vapuḥ

45. See M. II. 61; IV. 15. A. W. Ryder observes: "He moved among men and women with a serene and god-like tread, neither self-indulgent nor ascetic, with mind and senses ever alert to every form of beauty."—Translation, p. xiii.

46. In *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, sometimes attributed to Kālidāsa, we find the following:—
indīvareṇa nayanam, mukham ambujena
kundena dantam, adharaṁ nava-pallavena
aṅgāni campakadalaiḥ sa vidhāya vedhāḥ
kānte kathaṁ ghaṭitavān upalena cetaḥ.
"Your eyes are like blue lotuses, your face like a lotus, your teeth are like jasmine, your lower lip is like a tender shoot, your limbs are like the leaves of the Campaka, tell me then beloved, how the Creator formed your heart of stone."

"Her face has long eyes and the lustre of the autumnal moon, the arms slope down by the shoulders. Her chest is compact with thick and swelling breasts; her sides are (smooth) as though planed off. Her waist is measurable by the palm of the hand and her hips are broad and the feet have curved toes and her body is fashioned to suit exactly the fancy of the mind of a dancing master."

He gives us here a pen picture of a typical dancing girl which may well make a painter envy.[47]

In the gallery of women Kālidāsa presents, we have many interesting types. For many of them the conventional pretences and defences of society did not work. Their sensitive natures were not adjusted to social expectations. Their conflicts and tensions called for integration. The men felt certain and were secure. They accepted polygamy as the normal rule. But Kālidāsa's women had imagination and understanding and so were victims of doubt and indecision. As a rule they were not fickle but trustful, sincere and loving.

In *Raghuvaṁśa* King Dilīpa lives the highest ideal of family life with his queen Sudakṣiṇā. Agnivarṇa, the last king in the Raghuvaṁśa, is a prey to lust and degradation. In between are Raghu, Aja and Indumatī, Daśaratha with his three queens, Rāma and Sītā and many others. Indumatī married Aja in a *Svayaṁvara* choosing him from among a number of suitors.

Love is deepened by hardships and sufferings borne for the sake of love. It grows a hundred-fold in its intensity by obstacles to its realisation even as the current of a river blocked on its way by uneven rocks (flows with greater force):

nadyā iva pravāhaḥ viṣama-śilā-saṅkaṭa-skhalita-vegaḥ
vighnita-samāgama-sukho manasi-śayaḥ śata-guṇo bhavati.[48]

Even in the absence of fulfilment, the yearning gives all the joy that love means:

akṛtārthe'pi manasije ratim ubhaya-prārthanā kurute.[49]

The pathos of separation finds poignant expression in *Megha-dūta*, in *Rati-vilāpa*[50] and in *Aja-vilāpa*.[51]

47. See also M. III. 7, the description of Pārvatī in *K.* and of Ūrvaśī in *V.*
48. V. III. 18.
49. S. II. 1.
50. K. IV. See also V. III. 10.
51. R. VIII.

Love happy in union is found in *Vikramorvaśīya.*[52]

In *Mālavikāgnimitra,* the queen is called Dhāriṇī because she bears everything. She has dignity and forbearance. When Mālavikā attracts the notice of the king in a dance scene which the clown has contrived, she rebukes the king in words of harsh satire that such efficiency would be of advantage if shown in affairs of the state:

yadi rājakāryeṣu api īdṛṣī upāya-nipuṇatāryaputrasya tataḥ śobhanaṁ bhavet.[53]

When her husband's affection shifted to Irāvatī and then to Mālavikā, her devotion to him persists. The *parivrājikā,* Kauśikī observes: "These noble women attached to their lords serve them even though it be against their own desires":

pratikūlenāpi patim sevante bhartṛvatsalāḥ sādhvyaḥ

By a series of misfortunes, Kauśikī is led to the religious life. She comforts and distracts the mind of Dhāriṇī. Though a nun, she is an authority on the dance and the cure for snakebite.

Irāvatī is passionate, impetuous, suspicious, demanding and dictatorial. When she was abandoned in favour of Mālavikā by the King, she bitterly complains and rebukes the King in harsh words: "How immodest of feeling is my lord?" *aho avinīta-hṛdayo' yam āryaputraḥ.* 'You wicked one, you are absolutely untrustworthy': *śaṭha, aviśvāsanīya-hṛdayo'si.* "Oh ! These men are untrustworthy by nature. We, like innocent deer snared by the music of the hunter, fall victims to their deceitful words and do not understand.

aho aviśvasanīyāḥ puruṣāḥ. ātmano vañcanā-vacanaṁ
pramāṇikṛtyākṣiptayā vyādhajana-gītagṛhīta-cittayā
hariṇyā iva etan na vijñātaṁ mayā.[54]

Agnimitra's love for Mālavikā is of the sensual type. The king is fascinated by the beauty and grace of the maid.

In *Vikramorvaśīya,* we have a blend of the human and the superhuman. The *Kāśirājaputrī* is first restless and petulant. When she finds that Ūrvaśī is a heavenly *Apsaras,* she acquiesces in her lot. She is portrayed as the ideal Hindu wife who gives up her own happiness for that of her husband. The clown remarks

52. III. 19-20.
53. I. 19-20.
54. II. 19-20.

whether she was not making a virtue of necessity, spitting out sour grapes on the principle *abhāve viraktiḥ.* She rebukes the clown: "Fool, my lord is so dear to me that even at the risk of putting an end to my pleasure, I wish him all happiness."[55] *ahaṁ khalv ātmanaḥ sukhāvasānenāryaputraṁ nirvṛtaśarīraṁ kartuṁ icchāmi.* She lived on friendly terms with Ūrvaśī and the queen's attitude had its reward and Ūrvaśī pays her respect and precedence. Ūrvaśī asks her son to bow to the elder mother before entering on the second stage of the householder—*ehi, vatsa, jyeṣṭha-mātaram abhivandasva.* Ūrvaśī's character is somewhat removed from normal life. She has power to watch her lover unseen and overhear his conversations. She is lacking in maternal affection, for she abandons her child rather than lose her husband. Her love is selfish and her transformation is the direct outcome of a fit of insane jealousy.

Purūravas sings in rapturous terms of love and says that the sovereignty of the world is not as sweet, as blissful, as the lover's labour at the feet of the beloved.[56] The world is dark and desolate to whom love is denied but it is bright and blissful to love triumphant.

Geothe's lines about Śākuntala are well-known:

"Wouldst thou the younger year's blossoms
and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured,
feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in
one sole name combine ?
I name thee, O Sākuntala, and all at once is said."

In this play we have the development of blossom into fruit, of earth into heaven, of passion based on physical attraction into love based on moral beauty and spiritual understanding. Śakuntalā inherits from her mother Menakā, beauty and lightheartedness, and from her father Viśvāmitra, the famous ascetic, patient and forgiving love. Freedom of sense and austerity of life brought her into being. In her own life the two, freedom and restraint, earth and heaven should combine.

55. III. The Bengali heroine Mālañcamālā whose husband had married a second time and left her unloved and forgotten says: "Though I die now and become a bird or a lesser creature or whatever befall me, I care not, for I have seen my darling happy."
56. III. 19.

In the first Act we find all the impulsiveness of youth. The daughter of the hermitage in the first outburst of passion gave herself away in simple innocence and complete trust to the king. She followed the unsuspecting path of nature as she had not learned to control her feelings and regulate her life by norms:

gāndharveṇa vivāhena bāhvyo rājarṣikanyakāḥ
śrūyante pariṇitās tāḥ pitṛbhiś cābhinanditāḥ

"Many daughters of royal sages are heard to have been married by the Gāndharva form of marriage and they have received the approval of their fathers."[57] Kaṇva when he hears of the marriage blesses it. Kālidāsa in verses of tender sorrow describes her departure from the hermitage to her husband's place. The very trees bid farewell to Śakuntalā in loving kindness. Kaṇva is filled with sorrow:

yāsyaty adya śakuntaleti hṛdayaṁ saṁspṛṣṭam utkaṇṭhayā
kaṇṭhaḥ stambhita-bāṣpa-vṛtti-kaluṣaś cintājaḍaṁ darśanam
vaiklavyaṁ mama tāvad īdṛśam idaṁ snehād araṇyaukasaḥ
pīḍyante gṛhiṇaḥ kathaṁ nu tanayā-viśleṣa-duḥkhair navaiḥ.

"At the thought that Śakuntalā will leave this very day my heart is smitten with grief, my voice is choked with suppressed tears, my sight is dulled by anxious thought. If so great is the affliction through affection of even me, a forestdweller, how much more are householders tormented by fresh griefs at separation from their daughters."

Kaṇva gives her advice:

śuśrūṣasva gurūn kuru priyasakhīvṛttim sapatnījane
bhartur viprakṛtāpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma pratīpaṁ gamaḥ
bhūyiṣṭhaṁ bhava dakṣiṇā parijane bhāgyeṣu anutsekinī
yānty evaṁ gṛhiṇī-padaṁ yuvatayo vāmāḥ kulasyādhayaḥ.[58]

"Serve your elders, take to the behaviour of a dear friend to your co-wives. Even though wronged by your husband, do not, out of anger, be of refractory spirit; be ever courteous to your attendants, do not become arrogant in prosperity. Thus do young

57. III. 22. See Manu III. 22. It is a marriage arising from love, *kāmasaṁbhava* or mutual inclination, *anyonyecchā* of a youth and maid. It is concluded without any rites and without the knowledge of the elders.

58. S. IV. 18.

women attain the status of housewife; those of an opposite character are banes of the family."

Duṣyanta, through forgetfulness for which the poet does not make him responsible, does not recognise her. He says that he should not look at another's wife: *anirvarṇanīyaṁ parakalatram.* Śakuntalā suffered the worst that could happen to a devoted wife: She is disowned by her husband and disgraced. Her mind becomes vacant and she stands there lonely, filled with terror, anguish and despair. The poet narrates her endurance of desertion, her fortitude in suffering, her later disciplined life till she is restored to her husband. Love is not a mere affair of the senses; it is a kinship of spirit. Both Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā suffered, were disciplined by sorrow, and obtained the reward of a spiritual harmony. The youthful flush subsides; the gust of passion dies out. Love is won at a higher level and the brief glow of pleasure is turned into a steady life of bliss. Passion is linked with the sanctities of life. Nature and grace blend in harmony.

Kālidāsa does not judge the first union of lovers as a moral lapse. They are not sinners but they have to grow through suffering.

When Pārvatī approached Śiva performing tapas with the object of marrying him and started to serve him in different ways, Śiva was unmoved.

pratyarthi-bhūtāṁ api tāṁ samādheḥ
śuśrūṣamāṇāṁ giriśo' numene.
vikārahetau sati vikriyante
yeṣāṁ na cetāṁsi ta eva dhīrāḥ

The marriage of the two was essential for the birth of Kumāra, who would save the world from the terror and destruction which the demon Tāraka was forcing on it. So Indra sent the god of love, Kāma to disturb the concentration of Śiva. When Kāma approached Śiva, the latter was sitting with closed eyes, his senses withdrawn in *samādhi,* still like a rainless cloud, like a waveless ocean, like an unflickering flame.

avṛṣṭi-saṁrambham ivāmbuvāham apām ivādhāram anuttaraṅgam
antaścarāṇāṁ marutāṁ nirodhānnivātaniṣkampam iva pradīpam.[59]

59. III. 48.

When Śiva was disturbed somewhat, he opened his eyes and fire flashed from his third eye and reduced Kāma to ashes. In the meantime Pārvatī felt that her beauty was of little use:

vyarthaṁ samarthya lalitaṁ vapur ātmanaś ca.[60]

She decided to win Śiva through the penance of the type in which Śiva himself was engaged:

iyeṣa sā kartum avandhya-rūpatāṁ
samādhim āsthāya tapobhir ātmanaḥ.[61]

She wished to win Śiva not through the attraction of her body but by the surrender of the heart. She lost her faith in *artha* and *kāma* but believed only in *dharma.*

anena dharmaḥ saviśeṣam adya me trivarga-sāraḥ pratibhāti.[62]

When she was told about the oddities of Śiva, she rebukes the Brahmin interlocutor with the words that the peculiar conduct of great souls and its causes are inscrutable and the fools unable to understand them laugh at them.

alokasāmānyam acintya-hetukaṁ
dviṣanti mandāḥ caritam mahātmanām[63]

The ridiculing Brahmin turned out to be Śiva himself. He said to Umā:

" 'From this moment, O shy maiden, I am your slave, bought by your penance.' So spake he whose crest is the moon and straightaway all the fatigue of her self-torture vanished. So here is it that fruitful toil feels as if it never had been."

adya prabhṛty avanatāṅgi tavāsmi dāsaḥ
krītas tapobhir iti vādini candramaulau
ahnāya sā niyamajam klamam utsasarja
kleśaḥ phalena hi punar navatāṁ vidhatte

60. III. 75.
61. V. 2.
62. V. 38. Cf. "To me there is no joy in that union where the two are not equally ardent for each other."
anāturotkaṇṭhitayoḥ prasiddyatā samāgamenāpi ratir na māṁ prati
paraspara-prāpti-nirāśayor varaṁ śarīra-nāśo'pi samānurāgayoḥ
M III. 15.
63. V. 75.

The truth illustrated here is that love born of sense attraction should be transformed into love based on austerity and control. While striving to reach heaven, both Pārvatī and Śakuntalā had to skirt the edge of the abyss.

Sex life is not inconsistent with spiritual attainment. Wild life or unrestrained passion is inconsistent with it. Sex life under law and restraint is spiritual in character. One can lead the life of a householder and yet be a hermit in temper. The Upaniṣad says: enjoy by renunciation, *tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ*.

The goal of life is joy, serenity and not pleasure or happiness. Joy is the fulfilment of one's nature as a human being. We must affirm our being against the whole world, if need be. When Socrates was condemned to death or when Jesus was crucified, they did not take death as defeat but as fulfilment of their ideals. The aim of love is a happy harmony of man and woman. The concept of *ardhanārīś-vara* brings it out.[64] The wife does not belong to the husband but makes a whole with him. The wife is the root of all social welfare.

kriyāṇāṁ khalu dharmyāṇāṁ satpatnyo mūla-kāraṇam.

The wife is the *saha-dharma-cāriṇī*.

iyaṁ corvaśī yāvadāyus tava saha-dharma-cāriṇī bhavatu.[65]

She is with him in the performance of all his duties. Indumatī was to Aja, a housewife, a wise counsellor, a good friend, a confidante and a beloved pupil in learning the fine arts.

gṛhiṇī sacivaḥ sakhī mithaḥ priyaśiṣyā lalite kalāvidhau.

Kālidāsa believes that marriage is fulfilled in parenthood. The physical attraction is sublimated through suffering caused by misunderstanding, separation, desertion, cruetly, etc. and attains its fulfilment in the child. The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī was brought about for the birth of Kumāra. This country is named after Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. In Raghuvaṁśa, it is said that the love of Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā attained increase when it was shared by the son also:

64. See R. I. 56. *svāhayeva havirbhujaṁ.* K. I. 50. *premṇā śarīrārdhaharāṁ harasya.*
65. V., V. 19-21.

rathāṅganāmnor iva bhāva-bandhanaṁ
babhūva yat prema parasparāśrayam
vibhaktam apy ekasutena tat tayoḥ
parasparasyopari paryacīyata.[66]

In Raghuvamśa III. 23, Kālidāsa says that Dilīpa and Sudakṣinā rejoiced in the birth of their son even as Umā and Śiva were gratified by the birth of Kārttikeya, as Śacī and Indra by the birth of Jayanta.[67] The marriage of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā found its fulfilment in the birth of their son Bharata. The birth of Kumāra was the main aim of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Kālidāsa loves children as it is evident from his descriptions of Bharata, Āyus, Raghu, Kumāra.

For Kālidāsa the path of wisdom lies in the harmonious pursuit of the different aims of life and the development of an integral personality. He impresses on our mind these ideals by the magic of his poetry, the richness of his imagination, his profound knowledge of human nature and his delicate descriptions of its most tender emotions. We can apply to him the words of Miranda in the *Tempest:*

O Wonder,
How many goodly creatures are there here !
How beauteous mankind is ! O brave new world,
That has such people in't.

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66. R. III. 24.
67. *umā-vṛṣāṅkau śara-janmanā yathā, yathā jayantena śacī-purandarau*
tathā nṛpaḥ sā ca sutena māgadhī nanandatus tat-sadṛśena tat-samau

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the *editio princeps* of the *Megha-dūta* was published by Horace Hayman Wilson at Calcutta in 1813, the poem has been printed, edited and translated very often in India and abroad. Its great popularity and currency are also indicated by the existence of a large number of original manuscripts in the different libraries of India, Europe and America, as well as by the fact that more than fifty Sanskrit commentaries on this poem are known, of which the more important ones are now available in print.

Editions of the Text

From Aufrecht's description[1] of the manuscript on which Wilson's earliest edition was based, it appears that it was most probably copied from the comparatively modern Colebrooke manuscript (no. 3774/1584) existing in the India Office Library.[2] Written in Bengali characters, this manuscript of the text contains, along with Mallinātha's *Saṁjīvanī*, five Bengal commentaries, namely, those of Sanātana Gosvāmin (*Tātparya-dīpikā*), Kalyāṇamalla (*Mālatī*), Bharata-mallika (*Subhodhā*), Rāmanātha Tarkālaṁkāra (*Muktāvalī*), and Haragovinda Vācaspati (*Saṁgatā*[3]). A glance through our critical notes will show how closely Wilson's text, prepared at Calcutta, follows the readings of the Bengal commentators, especially those of Sanātana Gosvāmin and Bharata-mallika. Although Wilson had Mallinātha's better known commentary before him, there can be no doubt that he represents, mostly, in his readings, the tradition of the Bengal commentators of the text.

1. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bodleianae*, Oxford 1864, no. 218. This is clear also from Wilson's preface to the second edition (London, 1843), p. vi. Wilson gives a free English metrical translation and some notes.—Full bibliography of editions etc., mentioned below, will be found in our Select Bibliography.
2. J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vii (London 1904), p. 1442.
3. This name is not given in the MS, but it is found in the MS which Vidyasagar used for his edition.

The edition of J. Gildemeister, which came out at Bonn in 1841, was based chiefly on a collation of Wilson's text with three other manuscripts, two of which (Devanāgarī and Bengali) came from Paris and one (Bengali) from Copenhagen.[4] This edition (of the text only) is more critical, and excludes as spurious a number of stanzas from the traditional text of the *Megha-dūta*. In India Mallinātha's commentary, with the text, began to be printed—first at Benares in 1849, then at Calcutta (Madan Mohan Tarkalaṁkar) in 1850, at Madras (in Telegu characters) in 1859 and at Poona (Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar) in 1866. In 1869 Ishwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar brought out at Calcutta a careful edition of the text with Mallinātha's commentary in Devanāgarī characters.[5] He might have been aware of Wilson's edition of the text, but there is no indication that he knew that of Gildemeister. Already Mallinātha had declared the spurious character of several stanzas; Vidyāsāgar's edition is notable for marking out a few more,[6] as well as for its appendix (written in Sanskrit) which contains useful critical notes and various readings culled chiefly from Bengal commentators. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler utilized all this material and published his well-known edition (of the text only) at Breslau in 1874. In addition to Gildemeister's one Devanāgarī and two Bengali manuscripts, Stenzler utilized only one more Devanāgarī manuscript from Berlin (Chambers 152); but his edition is notable for its critical sense, as well as for its notes which cite (following Vidyāsāgar) from the five Bengal commentaries mentioned above.

In India Mallinātha's text and commentary continued to be printed; but one need mention only the editions of Kāshinath Pandurang Parab (Bombay 1877) and Gopāl Raghunāth Nandargikar (Bombay 1894). It is not known on what material the text

4. This is the MS (without number), dated 1826 A.D., written in Bengali characters and containing 117 stanzas, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which is described in N. L. Westergaard's Catalogue (Copenhagen 1846), p. 13b, no. XXI. It contains the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* (23 verses), which also Gildemeister includes in his edition (see his Preface, pp. vi-vii).

5. The Preface only is written in Bengali.

6. We are informed in the Preface that Vidyasagar utilized for his text the Benares, Calcutta and Bombay editions, as well as a MS from the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library. These source-texts contained respectively 121, 118, 125 and 116 stanzas; but even with such meagre and uncertain material Vidyasagar had the critical acumen to declare that only 110 stanzas were genuine.—Vidyasagar was elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1865 (*JRAS*, 1865, p. 15).

of Parab is based; but Nandargikar gives a detailed account of the manuscripts, editions and commentaries utilized, and fully notes variant readings from them. Besides Wilson and Vidyāsāgar, he used the text and commentary printed at Calcutta, respectively by Ajit Nath Bhattacharya (1870) and Pandit Prananath, a Kashmir Brahman (1871), as well as the Poona edition of Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar (1866). But it is important to note that Nandargikar, for the first time, collated and recorded the readings of a very large number of manuscripts (some twenty), including those containing six commentaries, mostly Jaina. They are: the anonymous *Sāroddhāriṇī* and *Megha-latā*, the *Śiṣya-hitaiṣiṇī* of Lakṣmīnivāsa, the *Sukha-bodhikā* of Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi, the *Sugamānvayā* of Sumativijaya and the *Subodhikā* of Megharāja.[7] The India Office manuscript, mentioned above, containing the five Bengal commentaries, was also consulted for their exposition, but their variants were not noted, or noted only incidentally in the copious explanatory notes. It is interesting, however, to find that Nandargikar utilized and recorded the readings of Jinasena's *Pārśvābhyudaya*, whose early testimony he considers to be of a higher authority. But unfortunately he used a defective Devanāgarī copy (which can now be identified with Hultzsch's manuscript D) of Vallabhadeva's *Pañjikā*, and could not realize its importance from the point of view of textual criticism. A critical reader may find it difficult to agree with Nandargikar's opinion (p. 27) that "the text that Mallinātha has commented upon is generally the true text of the poet;" but it must be said to the credit of Nandargikar's patient scholarship that the material furnished by his critical apparatus, prepared from a large number of manuscripts (with or without commentary), is certainly of great assistance for the critical study of the text.

The second stage in the history of textual criticism of the *Megha-dūta* begins with the publication, at London in 1911, of E. Hultzsch's critical edition of the *Pañjikā* commentary of Vallabhadeva, who is our oldest known commentator on Kālidāsa's poem. The text here is in accordance with this commentary, which is edited on the basis of three Śāradā (-Kashmiri) manuscripts and one Devanāgarī manuscript, the last of which (marked D) is identical with that used by Nandargikar. Hultzsch is right in holding that

7. The MSS of all these unpublished commentaries are now available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) at Poona. See below.

this last manuscript is highly conflated and in consequently basing his edition of the Kashmiri text of Vallabhadeva on his three Kashmiri manuscripts. Hultzsch accepts the view of Durgaprasad and Parab[8] that Vallabhadeva flourished in the first half of the tenth century; but K. B. Pathak, who adversely criticizes Hultzsch's dating as well as his estimate of the commentary, would bring down the date to about 1100 A. D. Whatever may be the date,[9] there cannot be any doubt, that Vallabhadeva is a fairly old, and to us the earliest known, commentator; and his text, therefore, deserves most careful consideration.

Adaptations and Translations

Earlier than Vallabhadeva's commentary, we have the *Pārśvābhyudaya*[10] of Jinasena which, in the latter part of the eighth century, incorporated, by the ingenious device of Samasyā-pūraṇa, the whole text of the *Megha-dūta* as it was known to him. This work is a poetical biography of the Jaina saint Pārśvanātha; but by the said device each stanza in Jinasena's poem employs unaltered one or two Pādas from the *Megha-dūta*, the remaining Pādas being composed by Jinasena himself. The text of the *Megha-dūta*, thus adapted in this Jaina poem, was edited and published[11] by Kashinath Bapu Pathak at Poona in 1894. This is a valuable testimonium, because it represents the text of the *Megha-dūta* as it was known to Jinasena "in the latter part of the 8th century or before Śaka 705 (=c. 783 A.D.), the date of his first work the Jaina Harivaṁśa."[12] One may not agree with Pathak's exaggerated opinion of its absolute value and his consequent depreciation of Vallabhadeva's commentary; but the text-critic should certainly take into account the testimony of Jinasena's early adaptation.

Similar assistance to textual criticism, but in a lesser degree, is also rendered by two other Jaina works. The first is the *Nemi-dūta*

8. In their edition of Ratnākara's *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* (Kāvyamālā, gucchaka i, Bombay 1886, pp. 101 f.).
9. See S. K. De in *BSOS*, v, pt. 3 (1929), p. 503.
10. Ed. Yogiraj Panditacharya, Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1909.
11. We use the 2nd ed., Poona 1916.
12. Pathak, 2nd. ed., p. xxiii. Pathak, however, thinks that the *Pārśvābhyudaya* was composed shortly after Śaka 735 (=c. 813 A.D.) Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* was probably written about Śaka 760 (=c. 838 A.D.). See Nandargikar, p. 6.

of Vikrama, son of Sāṅgana, which, as its name implies, is a devotional poem in 126 stanzas in honour of the Tīrthaṁkara Neminātha. It was published in 1886 in Kāvyamālā, gucchaka ii. It describes the sending of the cloud as a messenger by the saint's wife Rājamatī to her husband, who had gone to Mount Abu to practise penance. But the fourth Pāda of every stanza of this poem employs sequentially the fourth Pāda of the corresponding stanza of the *Megha-dūta*. The date of the author is not known,[13] but since he appears to utilize a very conflated and late version of the text, his date cannot be very early, nor is his testimony very valuable. The second work is the *Śīla-dūta*,[14] a didactic poem in 131 stanzas on the story of Sthūlabhadra, written by Cāritrasundara-gaṇi in Saṁvat 1487 (=c. 1431 A.D.). It employs the Samasyā-pūrana device in a manner exactly similar to that of *Nemi-dūta*, with which it agrees in not being very discriminating with regard to doubtful verses.[15]

In addition to these adaptations, we have a paraphrase and a translation of Kālidāsa's poem. A Sinhalese Sannaya or word-for-word paraphrase of the *Megha-dūta* was casually discovered by William Gunatilake in the Oriental Library at Kandy and published along with the Sanskrit text by T. B. Pānabokke at Colombo in 1893.[15a] From its readings,[16] it appears to be a fairly late work, but it bears witness to the text as it became current in Ceylon. The Tibetan translation of the *Megha-dūta*, contained in the Tanjur, was edited and translated into German by Hermann Beckh[17] in 1907, who also wrote an interesting doctoral dissertation on the text-problem of the

13. R. Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, Göttingen 1893, p. 27.
14. Ed. Haragovinda Das and Bechara Das. Yaśovijaya Jaina-grantha-mālā, no. 18, Benares 1915.
15. We include the readings of the *Nemi-dūta* in our critical apparatus, and note variants from the *Śīla-dūta* only occasionally.—A work of the same type is the *Megha-samuccaya* or *Megha-dūta-samasyā-lekha* of the Jaina Meghavijaya (ed. Jaina Ātmānanda Grantha-mālā, Bhavnagar 1914), in which the cloud is sent as a messenger to the author's preceptor Vijayaprabha Sūri; but it is a comparatively late work of the seventeenth century and follows the established Jaina tradition of the text. All these works must be distinguished from the *Jaina-Megha-dūta* (ed. *ibid*, Bombay 1894) which is an independent poem in four cantos, written in imitation of the *Megha-dūta* by Merutuṅga in the first half of the fourteenth century.

15a. This was secured for me by Dr. V. Raghavan.

16. For a review see Rhys Davids in *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 632-5. Rhys Davids gives list of variants, but it is not complete.
17. *Die tibetische Übersetzung von Kālidāsas Megha-dūta*, Berlin 1907.

Megha-dūta on the basis of the Tibetan translation.[18] Beckh is of opinion that the translation belongs to the thirteenth century A.D.

Commentaries

Of the commentaries later than Vallabhadeva we have already spoken of Mallinātha and his widely popular *Saṁjīvanī* commentary.[19] Mallinātha, a South Indian, has been assigned to the latter part or the end of the fourteenth century. But even before this date we have the South Indian commentary of Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha who is cited by Mallinātha himself,[20] and whose commentary *Pradīpa* was made available in print in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in 1919. Earlier than this, in 1909, was published another South Indian commentary, the *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, from the Vanivilas Press, Srirangam. The date of the work is uncertain; but in the Preface to the printed edition we are informed, rather vaguely, that the commentator "seems to have lived some three centuries ago[21] in the state of Cochin." Another scholiast from Cochin is Parameśvara (between 1400 and 1500 A.D.), whose *Sumanoramaṇī* commentary (which exists in a shorter and a longer recension) was published by the Travancore University Manuscripts Library from Trivandrum in 1946. It shows familiarity with the commentary of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī and is thus of not much independent value for our purpose, except as confirming the particular text-tradition.[22]

Of the Bengal commentaries, only the *Tātparya-dīpikā*[23] of

18. *Ein Beitrag zur Text-kritik von Kālidāsas Megha-dūta* (Berlin Univ. Diss.), Berlin 1907.

19. In spite of its discrepancies with Jinasena's text, Pathak's edition includes Mallinātha's commentary. On Mallinātha's date, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 228 and references cited therein; V. Raghavan in *NIA*, ii, pp. 442 f.

20. Generally as Nātha, e.g. on *Raghu-vaṁśa* i. 7, on *Megha-dūta* 4, 65, 98. As Dakṣiṇāvarta quotes the authority of the lexicographer Keśavasvāmin of the twelfth century A.D. and is himself quoted by Aruṇācalanātha who is cited by Mallinātha, he belongs probably to the thirteenth century.

21. On the date of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī (end of the fourteenth century) see C. Kunhan Raja in *Poona Orientalist*, ix, pp. 142-8. On citations in his commentary see N. A. Gore in the same journal, pp. 13-341.

22. On the identity and date (about the middle of the fifteenth century) of Parameśvara, see Introd. to the Trivandrum ed. and C. Kunhan Raja in the article mentioned above. On the two recensions see *C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume* and *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Feb. 1945.—Nandargikar does not record the readings of Dakṣiṇāvarta, Pūrṇasarasvatī and Parameśvara.

23. Ed. J. B. Chaudhuri in *Prācyavāṇī*, x, pt. 2; xi (Calcutta 1953-54).

Sanātana Gosvāmin (with fragments from the *Kavi-priyā* commentary of Śāśvata[24]) and the *Subodhā* of Bharata-mallika have been recently published,[25] but already Vidyāsāgar and Stenzler, in the appendix to their editions, give some variant readings selected from these as well as from the other Bengal commentaries of Kalyāṇamalla, Rāmanātha Tarkālaṁkāra and Haragovinda Vācaspati. Of these commentators, Sanātana was an older contemporary and disciple of Caitanya. His commentary was probably written in the latter part of the fifteenth century before he renounced the world and began his theological labours at Vṛndāvana.[26] The portion of this commentary on the stanzas occurring after 66, however, is meagre, because the author, taking them to be easy (*sugamam*), did not care to explain them.[27] Kalyāṇamalla (called a Rājarṣi in the colophon to his manuscript), son of Gajamalla of the Padmabandhu family, appears to have been a local chief of Bhūriśreṣṭha[28] and patron of Bharata-mallika; but his commentary does not always agree in its readings of the text with those of his protégé. Of Rāmanātha Tarkālaṁkāra, apparently a modern writer, no information is available; but Haragovinda Vācaspati, son of Vaṅka-vihārin Gangopādhyāya of Krishnanagar, must have been a modern author perhaps of a still later date.[29] Bharata-mallika's *Subodhā* is a remarkable com-

24. Śāśvata must have been a fairly old writer, the only MS of his commentary (A. S. B. no. 4953/5646) bearing the date in Nevāri era 540 (=c. 1330 A.D.). But there is no indication that he really belonged to Bengal. On the contrary, the Nevāri script of the MS may be taken as going against such an assumption. The second introductory verse of his commentary, quoted by Rajendralal Mitra (*Notices*, viii, p. 187, no. 2740; the MS noticed is in Devanāgarī), speaks of Vallabha's commentary as authoritative; and in many cases Śāśvata's readings do not agree with those of the Bengal commentators. Even if his exact provenance is not known, it is probable that he belonged to some region in Eastern India.—The A.S.B. (Asiatic Society of Bengal) MS is fragmentary and is wanting in many folios.
25. Ed. J. B. Chaudhuri, Prācyavāṇī Mandira Series, Calcutta 1951.
26. The work contains no Namaskriyā to Caitanya. See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 116, 119-21.
27. See our notes on 66.—Makaranda Miśra, who is taken to be another Bengali commentator, probably lived like Śāśvata in a region adjoining Bengal. The MS of his commentary (A. S. B., no. 4955/1076), entitled *Megha-saudāminī*, is in Devanāgarī characters. He includes *1—*4, *11—*13 but excludes *5—*10, *14—*19, the total number of stanzas being 118.
28. Mentioned by Kṛṣṇa-Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* and identified with the once flourishing Bhursut Pergunna in the district of Burdwan, Bengal.
29. The commentaries are contained in the India Office MS no. 3774/1584, mentioned above; but separate MSS of some of them also exist in the libraries of the India Office and Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Keith identifies our Haragovinda Vācaspati with the author of Jñāpakāvalī which belongs to the Saṁkṣiptasāra grammar.

mentary, full and erudite. Its date is uncertain. Its editor would place it at 1675-76 A.D.; but we are inclined to agree with Colebrooke[30] and Rajendralal Mitra[31] that Bharata-mallika flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century. Bharata-mallika, otherwise Bharata-sena, son of Gaurāṅga-mallika, was a Bengali Vaidya or physician by caste. He was a voluminous scholiast who commented on the standard Mahākāvyas including those of Kālidāsa. Even if his commentary on the *Megha-dūta* is comparatively recent in date, it is interesting because he gives a less interpolated text, and represents the Bengal tradition[32] better even than Sanātana and Kalyāṇamalla. We have recorded his readings, along with those of Sanātana; but those of Śāśvata and Kalyāṇamalla are only occasionally cited by us.[33]

There are also a few commentaries which are not yet in print. Of these, we have here recorded the readings of only the *Vidvajja-nānurañjinī*[34] of Sarasvatītīrtha, which we believe to be a commentary older certainly than that of Mallinātha and probably than those of Cāritravardhana and Dakṣiṇāvarta. If this Sarasvatītīrtha is, as he seems to be, identical with Narhari Sarasvatītīrtha, he is an Āndhra scholiast, who should be placed in the latter half of the thirteenth century.[35] Leaving aside the commentary of Sthiradeva, of whom we shall speak presently, the earliest Jaina commentary, which

30. Ed. *Amarakośa*, p. 6.

31. In his *Notices* (vi, p. 145) he writes in 1882 that Bharata-mallika "lived at Kanchrapara in the Hooghly district about 150 years ago." Haraprasad Shastri endorses this view and says that he had seen Bharata-mallika's great-grandson Lokanātha-mallika (*Catalogue*, vi, 1931, p. 307).

32. The greater reliability of this tradition is shown by the fact that Sanātana excludes *3—*12 *15—*19, including only *1—*2 and *13—*14; but Bharata-mallika goes further in excluding *14. Kalyāṇamalla agrees with Sanātana in this respect, but he includes *19 also.—The readings of these commentaries are not recorded by Nandargikar.

33. We could not obtain a copy of the *Artha-bodhinī* commentary of Kaviratna Cakravartin which was printed in Bengali characters at Calcutta in 1850. But we have seen the A.S.B. MS of this commentary no. 4956/10802. There is nothing remarkable about its readings, but its text contains 115 stanzas.

34. BORI MS no. 442 of 1887-91 (incomplete, first four folios missing). Also MSS in Cambridge University Library and Calcutta Asiatic Society.

35. S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 171.—The colophon describes Sarasvatītīrtha as Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya and states that the commentary was written at Kāśī.

has been printed,[36] seems to be that of Cāritravardhana, son of Rāmacandra Bhiṣaj, who commented also upon the two other Kāvyas of Kālidāsa, and who had the title Vidyādhara or Sāhityavidyādhara. Nandargikar would place him before Divākara whose commentary on the *Raghu-vaṁśa* is dated A.D. 1385. Both Sumativijaya and Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi, who wrote respectively the *Sugamānvayā*[37] and the *Sukha-bodhikā*[38] commentaries, are Jaina authors who belonged probably to the latter part of the seventeenth century.[39] Their commentaries, which are still in manuscript, appear to follow (more than that of Cāritravardhana) the conflated Jaina tradition of the text and are, therefore, of not much independent value. The *Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī*[40] of Lakṣmīnivāsa, son of Śrīranga and pupil of Ratnaprabha-sūri, is another Jaina commentary of the same type composed before A.D. 1458. The Avacūri of Kanakakīrtigaṇi, a manuscript of which is dated A.D. 1462,[41] was printed in lithograph from Benares in 1867; but it is in the same way not valuable for textual study. The *Sāroddhāriṇī*[42] is a commentary of uncertain date and authorship, which Pathak (p. xxi) regards as "next only to Mallinātha's work in point of merit"; but its importance need not on that account be exaggerated from the text-critical point of view.

36. Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, Benares 1931. We use the reprint of 1953. In the A. S. B. MS no. 4954/10070, dated Samvat 1643, many folios are missing. The only recorded complete MS of this commentary appears to be BORI no. 345 of 1893-95. Cāritravardhana probably belonged to the Kharatara-gaccha. The name of the commentary does not appear, but his commentary on *Raghu* is called *Śiśu-hitaiṣiṇī*. P. K. Gode (*ABORI*) xv, pp. 109-11) agrees with Nandargikar's dating (Introd. to *Raghu*, p. 9) but sets the upper limit at A.D. 1172—We have fully recorded Cāritravardhana's readings.
37. BORI MS no. 315 of 1882-83 and 549 of 1891-95. Sumativijaya was a pupil of Vinayameru.
38. BORI MS no. 280 of 1883-84 and no. 389 of 1884-87.
39. P. K. Gode (*ABORI*, xiii, p. 341) would place, Sumativijaya in the latter half of the seventeenth century, while Pathak (p. xxi) states that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary about Samvat 1690 (=c. A.D. 1634). Mahimasimha-gani's commentary was composed, as the colophon of one of his MSS states, in Saṁvat 1693 (=c. A.D. 1637). Mahimasiṁha was a pupil of Śivanidhāna of the Kharatara-gaccha.
40. BORI MS. no. 344 of 1895-98. The date Saṁvat 1514 (=c. A.D. 1458) is given in Berlin MS no. 1545.
41. The British Museum MS no. 224/Or 21456; but the Leipzig University MS no. 416 contains no date.
42. BORI MS. no. 157 of 1882-83 (incomplete), dated Samvat 1617 (=c. A.D. 1561). P. K. Gode (*ABORI*, xiv, pp. 130-31) would place this work widely between 1173 and A.D. 1561. Pathak thinks that this commentary knew that of Mallinātha; if so, then the date may be put between A.D. 1420 and 1561.

There are a few other commentaries of the same type, like the anonymous *Megha-latā*[43] or Megharāja's *Subodhikā* or *Sukhabodhikā*,[44] which need not similarly be taken seriously into account. The readings of all these commentaries (except that of Cāritravardhana), are already noted by Nandargikar and Pathak and need not be recorded again; we have, however, occasionally noticed in our critical notes interesting readings from some of them. An exception, however, is to be made in favour of Sthiradeva's *Bāla-prabodhinī*[45] commentary, the readings of which we have fully noted. As his name indicates, he may have been a Jaina author, who is mentioned by name along with Vallabhadeva and Asaha or Āsaha (Āṣaḍa) by the commentator Janārdana,[46] and who is sometimes reproduced in extenso by the *Sāroddhāriṇī*. Sthiradeva's date and provenance, however, are unknown. There is little evidence to show that he is, as his editor presumes, earlier than Vallabhadeva; but since Janārdana's date[47] lies between A.D. 1192 and 1385, he would be our earliest known Jaina (?) commentator on the *Megha-dūta*. His commentary, however, contrary to later Jaina tradition, presents the text as containing only 112 stanzas, of which one (*4) is declared spurious by himself.[48]

It should be clearly understood that we are not concerned here with the intrinsic merit of the commentaries, but we consider them in so far as they are of importance in determining Kālidāsa's

43. BORI MS. no. 160 of 1882-83.

44. BORI MS. no. 479 of 1899-1915 and no. 390 of 1884-87 (dated A.D. 1404).

45. Ed. from one MS (dated Saṁvat 1521 = c. A.D. 1465) in the Mandlik collection of the Fergusson College, Poona, by V. G. Paranjpe, Poona 1936. We have also consulted two MSS from the Baroda Oriental Institute (nos. 1408, 12266). They designate the commentary simply as *Ṭīkā*. Both the MSS are incomplete, —the first beginning with comments on 11, the second with those on 65. The date of the first MS is illegible, but the second was written in Saṁvat 1630 (= c. A.D. 1574). These later versions of the commentary contain a large number of spurious stanzas, the first admitting 7, the second 13. The Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library MS is dated Saṁvat 1656 = c. A.D. 1600, but curiously enough, the number of stanzas it gives appears to be only 106! Paranjpe's MS presents the text as containing 112 stanzas, one of which is declared spurious by the commentator himself. We have accepted the numbering of this earliest MS.

46. Peterson, *Three Reports*, p. 324. For Āṣaḍa and Janārdana see our Select Bibliography.

47. P. K. Gode, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, ii, pp. 188 f.

48. Other commentaries recorded in the catalogues and not yet in print are numerous, for which see our Select Bibliography.—See also S. K. De, *Some Commentators on the Megha-Dūta* published in *AOR*, University of Madras, Centenary Volume, 1957, Skt. section.

text. They furnish the accumulated testimonia by which we can attempt to go back to the poet's original, even though it might have been, more or less, overlaid and modified through centuries by scholiastic ingenuity. Our concern here is to find out, if possible, what the poet himself wrote, and not what a particular scholiast thinks that he wrote.

Manuscripts

We now turn to the manuscripts of *Megha-dūta* and consider the importance of their evidence. From what we have said above about the various editions of the text and commentaries it will be clear that a very large number of manuscripts from Western, Eastern and Southern India, as well as from Kashmir, London, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen,[49] have already been utilized in them and the necessary variants brought to light. On a rough calculation something like forty manuscripts are found already utilized in this way; and from a careful scrutiny of this mass of accumulated material it would appear that further collation of fresh manuscripts of the same type would not prove very fruitful in improving the text.[50] As a matter of fact, after noting variants from the different standard editions of the text and commentaries, we did collate some Bengali and Devanāgarī manuscripts (independent of commentaries), and took into account the readings of South Indian manuscripts collated by Foulkes;[51] but the readings we found from all these sources did not add much of importance to those which we had already noted from the editions of the text and commentaries. It is true that no two manuscripts, unless they are exact copies of each other, are entirely identical; because every scribe makes his own mistakes, indulges in petty alterations, emends, transposes, or interpolates verses here and

49. The manuscripts in America, as listed by Poleman (*Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*), are not many, nor do they seem to have more than ordinary importance.

50. Rajavaidya J. K. Shastri, for instance, in his recent edition of the *Megha-dūta* (Gondal 1953), claims to have collated seven fresh MSS, but the variants noted by him are such as are already found given by one or other of the commentators or by manuscripts utilized in previous editions.

51. T. Foulkes: *Kālidāsa, A complete Collection of the various Readings of the Madras Manuscripts*, vol. i, Madras 1904. Foulkes utilized one Grantha, two Telugu, and three Kanarese manuscripts; but unfortunately he records too many obvious scribal blunders along with genuine variants. We have occasionally noted from Foulkes some interesting variant readings.

there. But once the text-tradition of a particular class or group of manuscripts is established, the deviations of fresh manuscripts of the same class or group are, on the whole, found too insignificant to ustify further collation of manuscripts of that class.

We collated, for instance, five Bengali manuscripts (without commentaries) of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library,[52] but we found that their readings did not differ materially from those of the Bengal commentators. Similarly, the collation of some independent Devanāgarī manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute showed that they followed generally the readings of one or other of the West Indian commentators. With regard to the total number of stanzas contained in these manuscripts, we find that of the four complete Bengali manuscripts of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, two (nos. 119 and 121) give 116 (each including *16 as the last stanza) and two (nos. 120 and 123) 114 each—which numbers correspond to those given by the Bengal commentators. On the other hand, the two Devanāgarī manuscripts of the text only of the Asiatic Society of Bengal[53] contain respectively a total of 125 and 127 stanzas, both including even *19. There are four Devanāgarī manuscripts without commentary[54] and five with brief anonymous glosses[55] in the Bhandarkar Institute. Some of them are fairly old, the dates ranging between 1461 and 1586 A.D.; but all of them, following generally the tradition of the West-Indian (especially Jaina) commentators, contain so many spurious verses that the total number of stanzas comes up to 125, 126 or even 127.

It would be interesting to note in this connexion that most Devanāgarī and Bengali manuscripts in the European libraries are generally of the same character. The three Devanāgarī manuscripts of only the text in the India Office,[56] which are dated between 1557

52. Nos. 119-23, of which no. 122 has some folios missing. (This is new numbering different from that of the printed catalogue).

53. No. 4947/2381 and 4949/7810.

54. No. 43 of 1873-74 (undated but old)—125; but no. 141 of 1882-83 (dated 1556 A. D.), no 156 of 1882-83 (dated 1586 A. D.), no. 388 of 1884-87 (dated 1461 A. D.) each—126 stanzas.

55. No. 550 of 1892-95 (undated but old)—125; but no. 347 of 1895-98, no. 744 1886-92, and no. 746 of 1886-92 each—126; no. 348 of 1895-98—127 stanzas.

56. No. 3770/3060 (dated 1557 A. D.) and 3771/2737 (dated 1595 A. D.) contain 125 stanzas, while 3772/2019 (dated 1624 A. D.) contains 121 stanzas. The Bengali MS is no. 3773/1491d (modern writing).

and 1624 A.D., contain a total number of stanzas between 121 and 125, while a Bengali manuscript of the text gives 116 stanzas. Most of the Bodleian Library Devanāgarī manuscripts[57] similarly contain 125 to 127 stanzas. The Berlin State Library manuscript (Chambers 152) in Devanāgarī, which Stenzler used, contains 127 stanzas, while the Devanāgarī manuscript no. 1544, with an anonymous Avacūri,[58] includes 125 (even accepting *19). The British Museum Devanāgarī manuscript no. 225/Or 2145c, with Avacūri, appears to have been copied[59] from the same source as the Berlin manuscript no. 1544, and contains a total of 125 stanzas. It is true that Gildemeister's Devanāgarī manuscript D from Paris contains only 110 stanzas, but his Bengali manuscript from Copenhagen has 117. The two Leipzig University Devanāgarī manuscripts of the text only (no. 411 dated 1566 A.D. and no. 415 dated about 1860 A.D.) contain respectively a total number of 127 and 124 stanzas. Among the Florentine manuscripts noticed by Aufrecht there are two manuscripts of the same type (no. 73-74), each of which contains 125 stanzas. A. A. Macdonell reports[60] a Nepali manuscript of the text only from the library of the Maharaja of Nepal, dated 1364 A.D., which contains 110 stanzas; but, curiously enough, it includes nine of the spurious verses.[61]

Thus, in the case of the *Megha-dūta*, a critical study of the available material would make it evident that the commentaries had already so fixed the different text-traditions that they found themselves reflected in the manuscripts of different groups or regions;

57. M. Winternitz and A. B. Keith, *Catalogue*, Oxford 1905, ii, nos. 1250-51, 1254-55, pp. 176-77.

58. A. Weber, *Verzeichniss*, ii, pt. 1, Berlin 1886, p. 143.

59. C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. London 1902, p. 86.

60. *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 176-83. This manuscript may be of the same type as Gildemeister's Devanāgarī D, which contains the same number of stanzas.

61. Macdonell notes only four readings from it, namely (i) 62cd, as in our text, excepting *sva-jala-pṛṣataiḥ*, (ii) 58d *pratidiśaṁ* as in our text, (iii) 80a *jānīyāḥ* as in our text, and (iv) 98ab *āyuṣman* (as in our text) and *—brūyāt*.—Information about South Indian manuscripts is rather meagre; but most of them appear to include Mallinātha's commentary. The Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library manuscripts of the text only, no. 3864 and no. 3871 (P. P. S. Shastri, *Catalogue*, vii, pp. 2871f), contain respectively 121 (67+54) and 122 stanzas, which correspond to Mallinātha's number; while the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the text only, no. 11869 (S. Kuppusvami Sastri *Catalogue*, xx, p. 7947), contains 118 stanzas.—From Stein's *Jammu Catalogue*, the character of Kashmirian manuscripts listed therein is not clear; nor is any manuscript available from Kashmir.

and that nothing substantial would be gained by further attempts at fresh collation, especially when so much collation has already been done by different editors from manuscripts of the same type.

We know that in the case of the epic text of the *Mahābhārata*, the manuscripts constitute the primary evidence, while the commentaries, translations, or adaptations are only secondary testimonia. But in the case of a small classical poem of wide popular appeal like the *Megha-dūta*, which has been so much studied and commented upon the peculiar circumstances of text-transmission make it clear that not the existing manuscripts (which are mostly later in date) but the commentaries are to be taken as our chief guide for textual study. Only if some old manuscript, anterior in date to the commentaries, could be found, it might furnish textual evidence unaffected by their influence.[62]

All this, however, does not mean that we should neglect the manuscripts. As a matter of fact, interesting readings, not found in the commentaries, are occasionally noted by us in general terms as given by "Some MSS." But we felt that to note all their deviations elaborately would not only overload the critical apparatus but also become unnecessarily confusing.

The Problem of Reconstitution

It is now necessary to consider the different text-traditions, as indicated above, for the purpose of critically reconstituting the text. It is scarcely necessary to say that a text-critic seeks, not *a priori* the best, but *a posteriori* the most authentic, readings; and for this purpose a careful evaluation and sifting of the available material become important as furnishing the necessary evidence.

Pathak, as well as Nandargikar, considers the testimony of Jinasena's adaptation to be of a higher authority, presumably because it gives us our oldest available text. Its date is much earlier than

62. This conclusion is to a certain extent confirmed by our textual study of the *Amaru-śataka*, which is now completed and awaits publication. The three recensions of the text of Amaru follow generally the texts presented respectively by the commentators Arjunavarman (West Indian), Vemabhūpāla (South Indian) and Ravicandra or Rudramadeva (East Indian). This conclusion, however, should not apply to *all* classical poems but only to those which, like the *Megha-dūta* and the *Amaru-śataka*, have regional commentaries more or less fixing the differet text-traditions.—V. G. Paranjpe in his ed. of Sthiradeva's commentary (p. xxx) generally agrees with this view with regard to the textual critique of the *Megha-dūta*.

that of the existing adaptations, translations, commentaries and manuscripts; and it undoubtedly furnishes the oldest available testimony to which greater authenticity should be attached as such. At first sight, this view would appear very plausible. But from the general trend of Indian text-tradition, it should be recognized that the mere fact that a manuscript, commentary, or adaptation is the oldest does not necessarily imply that it embodies the best text-tradition. On the contrary, it is often found that a comparatively late source of this kind preserves the text in a more authentic form. No absolute criterion, therefore, can be laid down; and each testimony is to be judged on the value of the text-tradition that it represents. In the present case, as Hultzsch has already stated, Jinasena is certainly anterior in time to Vallabhadeva, but he follows a conflated version of the text, and "has incorporated in his poem nine of the spurious verses[63] of the *Megha-dūta*, five of which are stamped as interpolations, even by so late a writer as Mallinātha." These verses are also excluded more or less by the Bengal commentators and entirely by Sthiradeva and some commentators from South India. The value of Jinasena's version, as indeed of all versions of the text, should thus depend not merely upon its antiquity but upon the value of the text-tradition which it is found, on examination, to represent. We have here, no doubt, a form of the text which is far older than that obtained from our existing sources, but it establishes nothing beyond the fact that it is evidence only for the text as it existed in that particular local form in the second half of the eighth century and as it was known to Jinasena.[64] There is nothing to show that Jinasena was a text-critic; he was not concerned with finding out the most authentic form of the text, but probably he took it as he found it current in the Karnatic area. It is perhaps for this reason that the text is not critically sifted by him. Like our other adaptations, commentaries, or manuscripts, Jinasena's text is thus only one of our evidences, but its testimony, however old, does not of itself prove anything regarding the original text of the *Megha-dūta*.

Similar remarks apply, more or less, to the testimony of the oldest known commentary of Vallabhadeva. One may accept Hultzsch's assertion that the secluded position of "that home of Sarasvatī,

63. Namely *3—*10, *14.
64. We can here cite the analogy of the Javanese version of the *Mahābhārata*, which plays a similar role in the textual criticism of the epic.

the Kashmir Valley," preserved and handed down the text of Kālidāsa in a much less modified form, especially in manuscripts written in Śāradā-kāśmīrī script[65]; but from this fact it is not necessary to exaggerate the textual value of this commentary. The text of Vallabhadeva, like that of Jinasena, only presents it as it was current in Kashmir and known to the commentator in the tenth or the eleventh century, and is not *absolute* evidence for the original text of the *Megha-dūta,* which is to be determined by a comparative study and evaluation of its existing variety of forms. Nevertheless, both Jinasena and Vallabhadeva must be given their due (and not exaggerated) importance from the point of view of textual criticism. Apart from the question of interpolated stanzas, where there is an independent agreement of readings between Jinasena and Vallabhadeva, we have generally accepted it; but where there is difference, we have taken into account other available evidence for a reasonable solution.

It should be noted in this connection that while Jinasena admits into his text nine doubtful verses (*3-*10, *14) and omits ten (*1, *2, *11-*13, *15-*19), the Kashmirian Vallabhadeva excludes all the nineteen doubtful verses (*1-*19). He is supported in this respect by the South Indian Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha, Pūrṇa-sarasvatī and Parameśvara, as well as by Sthiradeva. This independent agreement, supported by intrinsic probability, affords a sound basis for regarding all these verses (*1-*19) as interpolated, especially as most of them are also omitted by the Bengal commentators Sanātana Gosvāmin and Bharata-mallika.[66] When we come to the question of readings,[67]

65. An interesting illustration of the process of conflation in Devanāgarī (as distinguished from Śāradā-Kāśmīrī) manuscript is afforded by Hultzsch's Devanāgarī D, which was relied upon by Pathak and Nandargikar, but which obviously embodies a faulty text-tradition. But the fact that a MS is written in Śāradā characters need not of itself prove its superiority. Of Hultzsch's three Śāradā manuscripts, one (marked B) appears to be late, and "shares many corruptions with D."—The Devanāgarī MS (no. 226/Or. 3352) of Vallabha's commentary in the British Museum contains 113 stanzas, slightly in excess of 111 given in Hultzsch's edition. Vallabha's text really gives (in Hultzsch) 112 stanzas, but one (*1) he himself believes to be imitative and spurious; hence 111 stanzas are given as genuine, by Vallabha.

66. See above p. ix, in f.n. 32.

67. It is possible to believe that Jinasena, taking his text as he found it, did not himself make any emendation, even if it was an inferior text; but Vallabhadeva appears to have introduced or suggested emendations of his own. One such would be *praśama-divase* in 2c; another expressly suggested is *pratanu tamunā* in 99a, which reading some commentators, including Mallinātha, appear to have accepted. We have given below some instances where later

however, we find that the case is different. Macdonell is right when he states[68] that "it is pretty clear that Vallabhadeva's readings are often not the original ones"; and this may be said of most of our other sources, including the text of Jinasena. Here we have no similar criterion for determining the question of authenticity.

With regard to the other adaptations and translations, a few words are necessary to indicate their general character and evidentiary value. The Tibetan translation, made in the thirteenth century, like the Sinhalese paraphrase of unknown date, is a good external aid; but the Tibetan translation appears to follow, generally in its readings, the Eastern (Bengal) textual tradition.[69] Its text, however, is not free from conflation. No doubt, it omits as many as thirteen doubtful verses (*3-*10, *15-*19), but it is characterized by the inclusion of six (*1, *2, *11-14*), and is singular[70] in inserting *11, *12. With regard to the Sinhalese paraphrase, it is curious that it follows the North Indian rather than the South Indian text-tradition of Mallinātha, and often agrees in its readings with the Tibetan[71] and Bengal versions. It includes, however, seven doubtful verses (*2, *5, *6-*8, *10, *14)[72] and appears to follow a presumably late version of the text. As the *Nemi-dūta*, like the *Śīla-dūta*, gives us only the last line of each stanza of the original, and as it makes use of a much interpolated version, this Jaina source is not of much value for our purpose. With the text in *Śīla-dūta*, it agrees in admitting most of the doubtful verses (fourteen in number), even including

commentators have indulged in emendations quite freely; and most of the Pāṭhāntaras arise in this way.

68. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 179.

69. The Tibetan translation is fairly literal, but it sometimes uses synonyms or equivalents for the actual words: e.g., gandha-vaha for vāta or pavana in 9a, 14a, 31d; Śatakratu for Ākhaṇḍala in 15b and Maghavan in 6b; āliṅgana-pūrvaka for āliṅgya in 12a; Girijā or Pārvatī for Bhavānī in 44a; Śrīkaṇṭha for Caṇḍeśvara in 33b; Kāmadhenu for Surabhi in 45c; bālātapa for pratyūṣa in 31b; Mādhava for Śārṅgin in 46a; rājakula for kṣatra in 48b; Arjuna for Gāṇḍīva-dhanvan in 48c; rasavat for abhimata-rasa in 49a; bhuja for skandha in 53a; keśa-samūha for vāla-bhāra in 53b; Daśakaṇṭha for Daśamukha in 58a; Balabhadra for Halabhṛt in 59d; svabhāva for the suffix maya in 66a; bhāsvat for savitṛ in 70d, etc.

70. These two verses (*11, *12) are found in the Tibetan translation, as well as in a few inferior manuscripts, but they are omitted by most known commentaries.

71. Beckh (*Beitrang zur Text-kritik*, pp. 10, 11, 15) gives some instances of striking agreements between the Tibetan translation and the Sinhalese paraphrase.

72. It omits twelve such verses, namely, *1, *3, *4, *9, *11-13, *15-19. The total number of stanzas in it is 118, as against 117 of the Tibetan translation. A concordance of verses will be found in Hultzsch's edition.

*15 and *16 (but omitting *11-*12, *17-*19); and this is in general conformity with the later conflated Jaina tradition of the text.

This Jaina tradition is represented by a large number of Devanāgarī manuscripts and commentaries, especially by the commentaries of Cāritravardhana, Sumativijaya and Mahimasiṁha, as well as by the anonymous *Sāroddhāriṇī*. These commnetaries embody a tradition which goes even further than that of Jinasena who, as we have already noted, includes nine doubtful verses (*3-*10, *14) but excludes ten (*1, *2, *11-*13, *15-*19). Cāritravardhana admits as many as eleven doubtful verses (*1-*4, *6, *7, *9, *14-*16, and even *19)[73] and omits only eight (*5, *8, *10-*13, *17, *18). Both Sumativijaya and Mahimasiṁha incorporate so many spurious verses[74] that the total number of stanzas in their texts comes up to 126, while the *Sāroddhāriṇī* agrees with them with the exception that it omits *18. Thus, the total number of stanzas in the text of these commentators, as well as in that of West Indian Devanāgarī manuscripts influenced by them, lies generally between 122 and 126 or even 127. In this respect Sthiradeva, if he was Jaina, stands apart, his text admitting only 111 stanzas as genuine.

Coming to the remaining commentaries, we have already spoken of the greater reliability of those of Bengal.[75] In South India, the pre-Mallinātha commentary of the Andhra scholiast, Sarasvatītīrtha, may be remarkable for its acuteness of exposition, which drew the encomium of Pathak; but since it admits a large number of spurious verses (excepting *1, *11-*13, *17-19) and includes even *15 and *16, its text-tradition cannot in this respect be very reliable, nor do its readings always appear authentic. Whatever may be the intrinsic merit of his commentary and his occasional strange readings[76] which Mallinātha pointedly disputes, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha however,

73. Thus, the total number of stanzas in the printed text is 122; but the BORI MS (no. 345 of 1895-98) gives 118.

74. A concordance of verses will be found in Pathak's edition. Mahima includes *19 (unnumbered) at the end (BORI MS 389 of 1884-87).

75. See above pp. viii-ix. The total number of stanzas given by the Eastern commentaries, as well as by Bengali MSS in general, is between 118 and 114. Even such late Bengal commentators as Rāma nātha Tarkālaṁkāra and Haragovinda Vācaspati give respectively totals of 116 and 115 stanzas; Kṛṣṇadāsa Vidyāvāgīśa has 115; Bhagīratha Miśra 114.

76. On some curious interpretations and capricious readings of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha see Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyay in *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, pp. 17-23.

appears to be more discriminating in excluding, like Vallabhadeva, all the doubtful verses *1-*19 (and even 70 in addition!) and therefore gives us, from this point of view, a more reliable text. In this respect Pūrṇa-sarasvatī and Parameśvara[77] agree with him as against Sarasvatītīrtha and Mallinātha. It seems, therefore, that the South Indian text-tradition was not uniform, the commentators of Malabar, like those of Kashmir, preserving as they did, a text free from conflation. Mallinātha's *Saṁjīvanī*, however, is deservedly popular[78] for its learned yet lucid exposition and has been often considered authoritative; but it cannot be said that it represents the best text-tradition of the *Megha-dūta*. It is true that it omits nine doubtful verses (*1, *11-*13, *15-*19) and expressly declares the interpolated character (Prakṣipta) of six more (*2-*6, *9); but it admits at the same time four such verses (*7, *8, *10, *14). In the readings of passages also, it cannot be said that Mallinātha always gives us the most authentic forms. And yet, like Nīlakaṇṭha's very late commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, the *Saṃjīvanī* has practically superseded by its reputation and currency most of the earlier commentaries on the text of the *Megha-dūta*.[79] The critical insight of Mallinātha, however, as against that of the West-Indian Jaina commentators, is shown by the fact that, leaving aside the verses omitted or considered 'interpolated' by him, the total number of stanzas in his text is not more than 115. In this he agrees more or less with the tradition of the Bengal commentators.

The Question of Recensions

In determining the spuriousness of a particular stanza, we have proceeded on the principle that we should view with suspicion any stanza which is found only in a few of our sources and omitted in most of the others. In other words, the genuineness of a stanza is questionable where there is no clear or unanimous testimony. Judged by this test we find that the verses *1-*19 are evidently

77. The text of Parmeśvara, like that of Pūrṇā-sarasvatī, contains 110 stanzas only (so does that of Dakṣiṇāvarta).
78. Most South Indian (Grantha and Telugu) MSS either include Mallinātha's commentary or generally follow his text.
79. This commentary has been printed much earlier and more often than any other; but as strange discrepancies in readings occur in its different editions, Nandargikar is right in remarking that a critical edition of this commentary is also desirable.

spurious, as they are omitted *independently* by the Kashmirian Vallabhadeva and the Jaina (?) Sthiradeva, on the one hand, and the South Indian Dakṣiṇāvarta, Pūrṇasarasvatī and Parameśvara on the other, even though they are given, more or less, by other groups of commentators. The later Jaina commentators, however, by whom most of the West Indian non-Jaina commentators and manuscripts appear to have been influenced, admit, as we have seen, most of these additional verses and present a much conflated text, which (more than that of any other group) seems to stand apart. The question arises whether we can take this Jaina tradition as representing a different recension of the original text. For deciding the issue, if we turn to a consideration of other textual facts, we find that this is not the case. With regard to variation of readings, for instance, we find that the exception of a limited number of passages,[80] the divergences are such as may be normally expected in manuscripts or commentaries of different groups or regions; and the Jaina tradition as such cannot be distinguished specifically on this ground. There are three instances, again, of important divergence in the transposition of stanzas. The first is concerned with 9-12 where only Jinasena and Vallabhadeva (with Sthiradeva) differ. In the second case, of 86-89, the difference occurs chiefly among Vallabhadeva, Sthiradeva, Sarasvatītīrtha, Cāritravardhana and Mallinātha. The third case is more complicated; in the sequence of 65-72, there is hardly any unanimity among our sources.[81] Here also the Jaina tradition as such does not stand apart, as it does with regard to the inclusion of the spurious verses. But even in the insertion of these verses, the later Jaina commentators and manuscripts are not unanimous with regard to the number inserted, which varies[82] from 9 to 16. The Jaina tradition, therefore, for some reason or other, seems to have been from the beginning (as Jinasena's text shows) more inclusive than exclusive;

80. E.g. 24b, 54ab, 60d, 62cd, 106a.

81. See our notes to 64.

82. The total number of stanzas, as we have already noted, thus varies between 120 and 127. If Sthiradeva is, as he appears to be, a Jaina author, he is an exception; for his text, as we have already noted, gives only 111 stanzas, and in this respect he agrees with Vallabhadeva. This exception perhaps proves that the Jaina tradition did not originally differ. It is also notable that in the order of stanzas 65-72 Sthiradeva's text agrees with that of Vallabhadeva, as also in the order of 9-12. For all we know, Sthiradeva might have been a Kashmirian like Vallabhadeva; but MSS of his commentary are found to-day in Poona (Mandlik Collection), Baroda (Oriental Institute), Alwar, Mithilā and Tanjore (Sarasvati Mahal Library), but not so far in Kashmir.

and the facts adduced above would go to indicate that there never was such a cleavage of text-tradition as would justify the presumption of two or more recensions of the text.

Interpolated Verses

The most important textual problem of the *Megha-dūta*, therefore, is not so much the question of text-readings or of transposition of stanzas as the problem of interpolated verses. One curious fact proved by Jinasena's text is that some of the spurious verses (at least nine) are very old.[83] But the process of accretion must have continued through centuries thereafter. How the great popularity and currency of the *Megha-dūta* paid the penalty of interpolation will be clear from the variation of the number of stanzas found today in the different manuscripts of the text and commentaries. We have already noted above the total number of stanzas given by manuscripts of the text only. With regard to the commentaries the lowest number of total stanzas is 110 given by Dakṣināvarta, Pūrnasarasvatī and Parameśvara (all of whom omit st. 70) and 111 found in Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva (both of whom include st. 70). The highest number is furnished mostly by Jaina authors and commentators, thus: Vijaya-sūri and Megharāja, each 127; Janārdana, Lakṣmīnivāsa, Sumativijaya, Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi and the *Megha-latā*, each 126; the *Nemi-dūta*, the *Śīla-dūta*, the *Sāroddhāriṇī*, Divākara Upādhyāya and Kanakakīrti-gaṇi (Leipzig MS no. 416); each 125; Sarasvatītīrtha and Kṣemahaṁsa-gani each 123; Cāritravardhana 122 and Jinasena 120. Next come the Sinhalese paraphrase which contains 118, and the Tibetan translation 117. Mallinātha has 121, but omitting the 'prakṣipta' verses, 115. Among Eastern (including Bengal) commentators, Makaranda Miśra gives 118; Rāmanātha Tarkālaṁkāra 116; Śāśvata, Sanātana Gosvāmin, Kalyānamalla, Kaviratna Cakravartin and Haragovinda Vācaspati, each 115, Bhagīratha Miśra and Bharata-mallika 114 each. When we come to the early editions of the text,[84] we have: Wilson 116, Gildemeister 113 and Stenzler 112.

83. The additional stanzas *15, *16 and *19 are shown by P. K. Gode to have been known before 1385 A.D. (*ABORI*, xv, pp. 111-14).

84. These editions omit the spurious verses, except as follows: Wilson includes *1, *2, *13, *14, *16; Gildemeister *2, *13, Stenzler *14.

preference, nor again merely from the standpoint of taste and style, which are at best unsafe guides, but on the actual evidence furnished by the text-tradition and supported by intrinsic probability. No doubt, scribal errors have been responsible for some peculiar readings[86]; but in some cases genuine variants arise from the misplaced ingenuity of the commentators themselves. In this connection the impression of Nandargikar, who collated a fairly large number of commentaries, is worth quoting. He states very wisely but rather strongly (p. 26): "A careful examination of the several commentaries has convinced me that a few only of the various readings have probably arisen from the ignorance of the scribes, but they are mostly due to the unscrupulousness and the ignorance of the expositors and their desire to make the poet conform to their own ideas of what is good or bad, correct or incorrect, wise or unwise, decent or indecent, regardless of the historical worth of the poet's words or his expressions."

A few illustrations on this point will not be out of place. The commentators appear worried over the reading *Śiñjad-valaya-subhagaṃ* in 76c. Several commentators, including Mallinātha but excluding Vallabhadeva (and Jinasena's text), modify it into *śiñjā-valaya-*, simply because the verbal root *śiñj* is not used in Parasmaipada; while the grammatical conscience of those who accept the reading (e.g. Vallabhadeva and Bharata-mallika) attempts to justify the irregularity by some far-fetched grammatical subterfuge, simply on the presumption that Kālidāsa's original must be flawless from the point of view of Pāṇini's grammar![87] Another similar instance would be *āśvasantyaḥ* in 8b, for which some commentators would read *āśvasatyaḥ*. One commentator pointedly remarks on the difficulty of the Samāsa in *svādhikāra-pramattaḥ* in 1a; hence obviously the variant *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ* is meant as a solution. Conformity to grammar leads to the modification of *gṛhāt* to *gṛhān* in 72a; but since the word *gṛha* generally in classical usage is neuter, grammar is not respected thereby! The crop of variants for the reading *alakaṃ bāla-kundānu-viddham* in 65a is apparenly meant to rectify the rhetorical fault of Prakramabhaṅga, although uniformity of diction is hardly found in the next line. There

86. E.g., *Saṁpratyagraiḥ* for *sa pratyagraiḥ* in 4c; *a-mantrāṇāṁ* or *ā-mandrāṇāṁ* in 34d.

87. That it is not so will be clear by a reference to Tarapada Chowdhury's *Linguistic Aberrations in Kālidāsa's Writings* (Patna 1951).

is a great deal of ingenious explanation of the phrase *śikhara-daśanā*[88] or *śikhari-daśanā* (and even *a-śikhara-daśanā*) in 79a, possibly because its exact meaning became obscure; and the reading remained uncertain. Another instance of unnecessary exercise of scholastic ingenuity will be found in the various readings suggested for *rasike* in 82d. In 67c the expression *cotitāḥ*[89] is apparently a *lectio difficilior*, for which easier variants are inevitable. So also *syūtā* in 73b and *prārthanā-vartmanaḥ* in 111a. With reference to a particular reading in 70c one commentator asserts it is the *mukhya pāṭha* while other readings are merely *pāṭhāntaras;* but it is not clear how he arrives at this dogmatic conclusion. In the frankly erotic stanza 69 the reading *vāsaḥ kāmāt* is demurely substituted by *kṣaumaṁ rāgāt*! The reading *pulinajaghanāṁ* in 41d (for *vivṛtajaghanāṁ*) is perhaps an attempt not only to cover up the bluntness of the expression *vivṛta* but also to make it fall in line with *salila-vasanaṁ* and *rodho-nitambaṁ;* but the modification overlooks the fact that the entire Pāda is an instance of Kālidāsa's oft-employed poetic figure Arthāntara-nyāsa, in which a general proposition is adduced to support a particular case.

It will be seen that most of these readings are concerned with niceties or decencies of language and diction and are often too clever or too fastidious to be convincing. In most cases it is not difficult to see how the variations arose. There are many lines, however, or even stanzas, in which there is hardly any variant or only variants of a trifling character. It would seem, therefore, that leaving aside deliberate scholiastic interference or scribal vagary, the text of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* (apart from the interpolated verses) was, happily, handed down fairly uniformly. The number of stanzas which show little or no important variation in readings is about 25; while the variation in some others is so slight that it concerns not the whole stanzas but only particular words and phrases in a Pāda or two. Not many go much beyond this; in only a few stanzas (32, 54, 60, 62, 70) do the discrepancies extend to the equivalent of between one line (i.e. Pāda) and one line and a half. One cannot be dogmatic with regard to the authenticity of a good number of the readings, nor positively certain. Variations there must be in a classical text so widely read and

88. The Tibetan translation renders *śikhara* by 'bkra-bahi-pha-lam' which is translated by Beckh as 'bunte diamanten'.

89. The root *cut*, recognised in the Dhātu-pātha, appears to have been less familiar than the root *cyut*.

commented upon, and possibly we are still a considerable way from Kālidāsa's exact expression in some cases; but the variations so far found are not greatly important, and do not, on the whole, seem to affect very much the poet's own text in its pristine form.

Theme, Source and Characteristics

The theme of the *Megha-dūta* is too simple and too well known to be related in detail. It describes the severance of an imaginary Yakṣa from his beloved and his passionate longings in loneliness. As his master Kubera, the lord of Alakā, has punished him, for neglect of duty, with the curse of one year's exile, the Yakṣa comes to stay in the groves on the slopes of the Rāmagiri hill, presumably in Central India. Emaciated and sorrowful, he sees at the approach of the rainy season a cloud clinging to the hill. The sight fills him with intense yearning, and impels him to request the cloud to convey a message of love and consolation to his sorrowing beloved in the remote Himālaya. He describes with much power and beauty the hills and rivers, cities and shrines which the cloud, in company with swans and cranes, should traverse *en route* to the Lake Mānasa and Mount Kailāsa, where the divine city of Alakā is situated. Ascending the plateau called Māla, the cloud should on its way rest on the peak of Mount Āmrakūṭa after quenching with showers its forest fires. A swift journey will bring it to the river Narmadā, parted into streamlets at the rugged foot of the Vindhya mountain, and to the Daśārṇa country and its capital city Vidiśā standing on the Vetravatī. After crossing the rivers Sindhu and Nirvindhyā which pine for its showers, the cloud will reach the country of Avanti, where the old villagers are still conversant with the romantic story of Udayana. Although a little out of the way, its capital city Ujjayinī and the shrine of Mahākāla must not be missed. After a little lingering over the stream Gambhīrā, the cloud should pass on to the Devagiri hill, where there is a temple of Kārttikeya. Crossing the river Carmaṇvatī, famed in mythology, and the region of Daśapura, it will reach the country of Brahmāvarta and Kurukṣetra, the scene of Arjuna's heroic deeds, and drink deep from the river Sarasvatī, whose pure waters Balarāma resorted to, unwilling to take part in the great Bhārata war and discarding his favourite wine. Then the cloud should proceed to where the Ganges descends from the Himālaya near Kanakhala, and pass through the opening in the Krauñcha

mountain, made by Paraśurāma, by which the swans go to the Mānasa Lake. Reaching Mount Kailāsa the cloud will perceive the city of Alakā resting on its lap. The city is then described with its delights and splendours, and the home of the Yakṣa with its beautiful surroundings. The charms of his wife are then depicted in glowing colours. Blighted by separation, pale and emaciated, she now seeks many a device to while away her lonely days and sleepless watches of night. If perchance she is in slumber, the cloud should wait and let its lightning play gently like the radiance of fireflies; and it should muffle its thunder so that her pleasant dreams be not disturbed. Gently awakened by a cool breeze, she would rest her eyes on the window where the cloud sits, and listen to it, as Sītā listened to Hanūmat, delivering a message of tender love from her husband and an assurance of ultimate reunion.[90]

The idea of sending a message may have been suggested by the embassy of Hanūmat in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[91] or of the Swan in the story of Nala in the *Mahābhārata*. The first conjecture gains plausibility from the fact that an allusion is made in 97 to Sītā anxiously listening to the message of Hanūmat; while it is possible to hold that the longing of Rāma for Sītā might have suggested that of the banished Yakṣa for his wife.[92] A distant parallel is also found in the *Kāmavilāpa Jātaka* (no. 297), where a crow is sent as a messenger by a man in danger to his wife. But whatever may have been the source of Kālidāsa's inspiration, there can be no doubt that the treatment is his own. The selection of a friendly cloud as the bearer of the Yakṣa's message from Rāmagiri to Alakā is undoubtedly a strange device; it is criticized by the old rhetorician Bhāmaha as defective and by some modern scholars as unreal. Perhaps anticipating some such views, the poet himself offers the almost demented condition of the sorrowful Yakṣa as an apology. But even if it is a highly poetical, it is not an unnatural personification, when one bears in mind the noble mass of Indian monsoon clouds, which seems almost instinct with life

90. Some scholars have concerned themselves with the identification of the Yakṣa's Āśrama and the route prescribed for the cloud; but the question is one of historical or geographical rather than literary interest, and has only an indirect bearing on the appreciation of the poem itself. The predominantly imaginary character of the poem should not also be forgotten.

91. See Sundara-Kāṇḍa 91-98.

92. This is suggested also by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, whom Pūrṇasarasvatī appears to refer by saying: *kaver yaksa-vṛttānte sītā-rāghava-vṛttānta-samādhir astīti kecit* (p. 7).

as it travels from the Southern tropical sky to the snows of the Himālaya.

But the unreality of the poem does not end here. It has been urged that the temporary character of a very brief separation and the absolute certainty of reunion make the display of grief unmanly and its pathos unreal. Perhaps the sense of irrevocable loss would have made the motif more effective; the trivial setting gives an appearance of sentimentality to the real sentiment of the poem. The device of a curse, again, in bringing about the separation—a motif which is repeated in another form in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*—is also criticized; for the breach here is caused by an external agency, and not by psychological complications, to which we are more inclined in modern times. But this criticism loses sight of the predominantly sentimental character of Sanskrit poetry and judges a device by a standard to which it does not profess to conform.

It is indeed not necessary to exaggerate the artistic insufficiency of the device; for, even if the setting is unreal, the sense of sorrow in the poem itself is straight and vivid. If we set aside the imaginary setting, we find that the picture of the parted and pining lovers, somewhat heightened though it may be, is yet true and passionate enough to make the pathos real in its appeal. No doubt, the picture is invested with a highly imaginary atmosphere; it presents a dreamland of fancy, its characters are semi-divine beings, and its imagery is accordingly adapted; but all this does not negate its very human and genuine expression of the erotic sentiment. Its vividness of touch has led people even to imagine that it gives a poetic form to the author's own personal experience; but of this one can never be sure. The poem has often been loosely called an elegy or a lyric; but neither in metre nor in matter does it approximate to the Greek elegy, still less to the modern lyric in the strict sense. There is little of subjectivity in its finished artistic execution, and the lyric or elegiac mood does not predominate; but the unmistakable warmth of its expression of rich and earnest emotion redeems the banality of the theme and makes the poem almost lyrical in effect. The wonderful spell of language and the stately-moving music of the Mandākrāntā metre very well suit its picturesque and melancholy recollection of tender love. We can characterise the *Megha-dūta* as a highly poetical expression of the mood of reminiscent love in the presence of suffering. The theme reappears in Kālidāsa's other poems in varied situation—in Rāma's

recollective tenderness in describing to Sītā the scenes of their past joys and sorrows over which they pass in their aerial journey from Laṅkā, and more intensely in the two lamentations of Aja and Rati.

It should be noted that the ardent feeling in this poem is not isolated but is blended picturesquely with a great deal of descriptive matter, which stands in the way of regarding the composition as a pure lyric. The description, however, is not a bare recital; for nature here is viewed through the eyes of a passionate lover. The intensity of his feeling is set in the midst of the Indian rainy season than which, as Rabindranath rightly remarks, nothing is more appropriate for an atmosphere of loneliness and longing; it is also placed in the midst of splendid natural scenery which enhances its poignant appeal. We find, therefore, that in the earlier part of the poem the description of external nature is heightened throughout by an intimate association with human feeling, while the picture of the lover's sorrowing heart in the later part is skilfully framed in the surrounding beauty of nature.[93]

A large number of attempts was made in later times to imitate the poem,[94] but the *Megha-dūta* remains unsurpassed as a masterpiece of its kind, not for its matter, nor for its description, nor yet as an exercise of intellect and ingenuity, but purely for its poetry. This small monody is no less characteristic of Kālidāsa's poetic powers than his more extensive poems which have a greater height of aim and range of delivery.

93. This trait of utilizing nature not merely as a background of human emotion but also finely interweaving it in human affairs is seen throughout in Sanskrit literature. See S. K. De, *History of Kāvya Literature*, Calcutta University, 1947, pp. 39-40.

94. On the Dūta-kūvyas, see Chintaharan Chakravarti in *IHQ* ,iii, pp. 273-97; S. K. De, *op. cit.* pp. 372-75; J. B. Chaudhuri, *Saṃskṛta-dūta-kāvyetihāsaḥ*, Prācya-vāṇī Series v, Calcutta 1953 (only on Dūta-kāvyas of Bengal); E. P. Radhakrishnan, *JOR*. Madras. x. iii. pp. 269-274. xiii, i. pp. 23-28

THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

Adaptations and Translations

J = Jinasena's Pārśvābhyudaya (as in Pathak's edition).
T = Tibetan Translation.
Sh = Sinhalese Paraphrase.
N = Nemi-dūta of Vikrama.
[Śila-d. = Śila-dūta of Cāritrasundara-gaṇi— some variants only are noted.]

Commentaries (C)

Cv = Vallabhadeva's Pañjikā.
Cs = Sarasvatītīrtha's Vidvajjanānurañjanī.
Cc = Cāritravardhana's Ṭīkā.
Cst = Sthiradeva's Bālaprabodhinī.
Cd = Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's Pradīpa.
Cm = Mallinātha's Saṁjīvanī.
Cp = Pūrṇa-sarasvatī's Vidyullatā.
Cg = Sanātana-gosvāmin's Tātparya-dīpikā.
Cb = Bharata-mallika's Subodhā.
[Occasionally readings are noted from the following commentaries, of which those of Śāśvata and Parameśvara only are in print:
Param = Parameśvara's Sumanoramaṇī.
Sār. = Sāroddhāriṇī.
Sumati = Sumativijaya's Sugamānvayā.
Mahima = Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi's Sukhabodhikā.
Śāśvata = Śāśvata's Kavipriyā.
Kalyāṇamalla=Kalyāṇamalla's Mālatī]

Editions (E)

Ew = Ed. Wilson. Calcutta 1813. (2nd Ed. 1843 used.)
Eg = Ed. Gildemeister. Bonn. 1841.

Es = Ed. Stenzler. Breslau 1874.

[The following editions with Mallinātha's commentary are also occasionally utilised:

Ei = Ed. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1869.

Ep = Ed. K. P. Parab. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 2nd ed. 1883.

En = Ed. G. R. Nandargikar. Bombay 1894.

Et = Ed. in Telugu characters. Madras 1859].

Foulkes = T. Foulkes's Readings from Madras Manuscripts. Madras 1904. (Occasionally noticed).

[For references to Manuscripts and other Commentaries see Introduction.]

Chowdhury = Tarapada Chowdhury's Linguistic Aberrations in Kālidāsa's Writings. Patna 1951. (Noticed when necessary).

A Concordance of Kālidāsa's Poems by T. K. Ramchandra Aiyar, ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan. University of Madras. 1952. Variants from edns. and mss. are recorded here in the footnotes.

THE TEXT

मेघदूतम्

कालिदासविरचितम्

कश्चित्कान्ताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तः
शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा वर्षभोग्येण भर्तुः ।
यक्षश्चक्रे जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु ॥ १ ॥

तस्मिन्नद्रौ कतिचिदबलाविप्रयुक्तः स कामी
नीत्वा मासान्कनकवलयभ्रंशरिक्तप्रकोष्ठः ।
आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे मेघमाश्लिष्टसानुं
वप्रक्रीडापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं ददर्श ॥ २ ॥

तस्य स्थित्वा कथमपि पुरः केतकाधानहेतो-
रन्तर्बाष्पश्चिरमनुचरो राजराजस्य दध्यौ ।
मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्यथावृत्ति चेतः
कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे ॥ ३ ॥

1. —*a*) J, Cd. m, Es स्वाधिकारात्प्रमत्तः; Cd. स्वाधिकारप्रमत्त इति पाठे समासः कृच्छ्रलभ्यः. The text-reading is in T, Sh, Cv. c. st. p. g. b, Ew. g, as well as in Param, Sār. Mahima and Sumati.

2. —*c*) T, Cv प्रशमदिवसे; Cc. m notice this reading, Cm deliberately refuting it; Śāśvata accepts it, but refers also to the text-reading. Cv remarks: केचित्तु शकारथकारयोर्लिपिसारूप्यमोहात्प्रथम इत्यूचुः . . . वर्षाकालस्य प्रस्तुतत्वादादिदिनमित्येतत्वतीव विरुद्धम्; but Kṣemendra, anotherKashmirian, reads प्रथम (in Suvṛtta-tilaka, ed. Kāvyamālā ii, p. 52).

3. —*a*) J, Cc. d. m कौतुकाधानहेतोः; Cd केतकाधानहेतोरिति पाठे . . . इदमत्यन्तश्लाघ्यविशेषणं न स्यादिति बोद्धव्यं. Most Jaina and Bengali Commentators read केतका०, as well as T, Sh, Cv. st. p. g. b and Param. —*d*) Cg notices the variant कण्ठाश्लेषि—; Cd तस्याश्लेषप्रणयिनि जन इति वा पाठः, तस्य यक्षस्य.

प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी
जीमूतेन स्वकुशलमयीं हारयिष्यन्प्रवृत्तिम् ।
स प्रत्यग्रैः कुटजकुसुमैः कल्पितार्घाय तस्मै
प्रीतः प्रीतिप्रमुखवचनं स्वागतं व्याजहार ।। ४ ।।

धूमज्योतिःसलिलमरुतां संनिपातः क्व मेघः
संदेशार्थाः क्व पटुकरणैः प्राणिभिः प्रापणीयाः ।
इत्यौत्सुक्यादपरिगणयन्गुह्यकस्तं ययाचे
कामार्ता हि प्रकृतिकृपणाश्चेतनाचेतनेषु ।। ५ ।।

जातं वंशे भुवनविदिते पुष्करावर्तकानां
जानामि त्वां प्रकृतिपुरुषं कामरूपं मघोनः ।
तेनार्थित्वं त्वयि विधिवशाद्दूरबन्धुर्गतोऽहं
याच्ञा मोघा वरमधिगुणे नाधमे लब्धकामा ।। ६ ।।

संतप्तानां त्वमसि शरणं तत्पयोद प्रियायाः
संदेशं मे हर धनपतिक्रोधविश्लेषितस्य ।
गन्तव्या ते वसतिरलका नाम यक्षेश्वराणां
बाह्योद्यानस्थितहरशिरश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्या ।। ७ ।।

4. —*a*) Cd प्रत्यासन्ने मनसि (Cd refers also to text-reading); Cm refers to this reading as that of Nātha (=Dakṣiṇāvartanātha). Some Bengali MSS जीवना–. T, Sh, Ew. s-लम्बनार्थं. (Cst notices this variant); Cd. g. b. -लम्बनार्थी.—*c*) Eg संप्रत्यग्रैः. Cd कुटच=(also Param).

5. —*b*) Cd संदेशार्थः and प्रापणीयः (Cd संदेशाश्च इति केचित्पठन्ति). —*d*) Sh, Cv. st. d. p प्रणयकृपणाः (also Param).

6. —*a*) J, Cd. p पुष्कल– (also Param); Foulkes पुष्कळ–. —*d*) J. याच्ञा बन्ध्या (also Foulkes).

7. —*b*) Some MSS धनपतेः.

त्वामारूढं पवनपदवीमुद्गृहीतालकान्ताः
प्रेक्षिष्यन्ते पथिकवनिताः प्रत्ययादाश्वसन्त्यः ।
कः संनद्धे विरहविधुरां त्वय्युपेक्षेत जायां
न स्यादन्योऽप्यहमिव जनो यः पराधीनवृत्तिः ॥ ८ ॥

मन्दं मन्दं नुदति पवनश्चानुकूलो यथा त्वां
वामश्चायं नदति मधुरं चातकस्ते सगन्धः ।
गर्भाधानक्षणपरिचयान्नूनमाबद्धमालाः
सेविष्यन्ते नयनसुभगं खे भवन्तं बलाकाः ॥ ९ ॥

तां चावश्यं दिवसगणनातत्परामेकपत्नी-
मव्यापन्नामविहतगतिर्द्रक्ष्यसि भ्रातृजायाम् ।
आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशो ह्यङ्गनानां
सद्यःपाति प्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगे रुणद्धि ॥ १० ॥

8. —*b*) Sh, Cst. d. m. p. g. b, Es आश्वसत्यः; Param and Foulkes (4 MSS) as in text. Mādhava in his Dhātu-pāṭha and Haradatta on Kāśikā ii. 4. 72 justify the form आश्वसन्त्यः with the remark अनित्यं गणकार्यमिति. —*d*) J, Sh, Cd. p (also Param) अयं (for अहं). Foulkes पराधीनवृत्तः.

After 8, the sequence of stanzas in J is: 10, 9, 11, 12; in Cv. st. 12, 9, 10, 11. The other sources give the sequence as in text. Ei regards as more logical the order 9, 11, 10, 12.

9. —*b*) Cv, Eg चातकस्तोयगृध्नुः (also Kalyāṇamalla), Cst Notices this variant; T, Cc. st. g. b, Ew चातकस्ते सगर्वः (Cg सदर्पः), this reading also in Sār. Sumati and Mahima; some MSS चातकस्ते सबन्धुः; Cb सगर्धं इति क्वचित्पाठः, तत्र गृधु अभिकाङ्क्षायां घञ्, गर्धस्तृष्णा, तत्सहितः. —*c*) T, Sh, Cd. p –क्षमपरिचयात् (also Param); Cv –स्थिरपरिचया; Cg. b, Ew. g –क्षमपरिचयं. —*d*) Cd. p नयनसुभगाः; Sumati and some MSS. नयनसुखदं.

10. —*b*) Some MSS. अवहितगतिः. —*c*) Sh कुसुमसदृशं प्राणनं ह्यङ्गनानां; Cd. p and Param कुसुमसदृशप्राणमप्यङ्गनानां (Cd प्रायशो ह्यङ्गनानामिति केचित्पठन्ति). —*d*) T, Cv. d (also Param) सद्यःपातप्रणयि (Śāśvata as well as Cst notices this variant).

कर्तुं यच्च प्रभवति महीमुच्छिलीन्ध्रामवन्ध्यां
तच्छ्रुत्वा ते श्रवणसुभगं गर्जितं मानसोत्काः ।
आ कैलासाद्बिसकिसलयच्छेदपाथेयवन्तः
संपत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः ।। ११ ।।

आपृच्छस्व प्रियसखममुं तुङ्गमालिङ्ग्य शैलं
वन्द्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु ।
काले काले भवति भवता यस्य संयोगमेत्य
स्नेहव्यक्तिश्चिरविरहजं मुञ्चतो बाष्पमुष्णम् ।। १२ ।।

मार्गं तावच्छृणु कथयतस्त्वत्प्रयाणानुरूपं
संदेशं मे तदनु जलद श्रोष्यसि श्रोत्रपेयम् ।
खिन्नः खिन्नः शिखरिषु पदं न्यस्य गन्तासि यत्र
क्षीणः क्षीणः परिलघु पयः स्रोतसां चोपयुज्य ।। १३ ।।

अद्रेः शृङ्गं हरति पवनः किंस्विदित्युन्मुखीभि-
र्दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनाभिः ।
स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन्स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ।। १४ ।।

11. —*a*) T, Sh, Cst. g. b, Ew. g. s उच्छिलीन्ध्रातपत्रां (also Sār. Mahima, Sumati and Kalyāṇamalla); Cv उच्छिलिन्ध्रामवन्ध्यं; Cd उत्सिलिन्ध्रामवन्ध्यां—*b*) Foulkes. श्रवणसुखदं.—*c*) See Chowdhury,20.

12. —*c*) J, Cm. p. g. b, Ew. g भवति भवतो (Cc notices this reading); the text-reading in T, Sh, Cv. c. st. d, Es.

13. —*a*) J, Cd. g. b मार्गं मत्तः शृणु. Cv. –प्रयाणानुकूलं —*b*) Foulkes मत्संदेशं. Some MSS transp. तदनु and जलद. J, Sh, Cd. p and Param श्रोष्यसि श्रव्यबन्धं (Cd. p and Param श्राव्य–). —*d*). T, N, Cc. d. m. p चोपभुज्य (also Sār. and Mahima; Śīla-d. as in text); the reading of Cst and Param not clear.

14. —*a*) Cd अद्रेः किं स्विद्वहति पवनः शृङ्गं. Ew शृङ्गं वहति—*b*) Sh, Cc. g. b, Ew. g. s. दृष्टोच्छ्रायः (also Kalyāṇamalla).—*d*) T, Sh परिहर.C v हस्तावलेहान्. Cd अनेन दिङ्नागाचार्यश्च विवक्षितः; Cm दिङ्नागाचार्यस्य कालिदासप्रतिपक्षस्य (there is no reference to this story in any other commentary, early or late).

रत्नच्छायाव्यतिकर इव प्रेक्ष्यमेतत्पुरस्ता-
द्वल्मीकाग्रात्प्रभवति धनुःखण्डमाखण्डलस्य ।
येन श्यामं वपुरतितरां कान्तिमापत्स्यते ते
बर्हेणेव स्फुरितरुचिना गोपवेषस्य विष्णोः ।। १५ ।।

त्वय्यायत्तं कृषिफलमिति भ्रूविकारानभिज्ञैः
प्रीतिस्निग्धैर्जनपदवधूलोचनैः पीयमानः ।
सद्यःसीरोत्कषणसुरभिक्षेत्रमारुह्य मालं
किंचित्पश्चाद्व्रज लघुगतिर्भूय एवोत्तरेण ।। १६ ।।

त्वामासारप्रशमितवनोपप्लवं साधु मूर्ध्ना
वक्ष्यत्यध्वश्रमपरिगतं सानुमानाम्रकूटः ।
न क्षुद्रोऽपि प्रथमसुकृतापेक्षया संश्रयाय
प्राप्ते मित्रे भवति विमुखः किं पुनर्यस्तथोच्चैः ।। १७ ।।

15. —*a*) J रत्नच्छाय–. Cd प्रेक्षणीयं पुरस्तात्. —*b*) Cv धनुष्खण्डं (on this form see Pathak, p. 78). —*c*) T, Cg. b, Ew. g आलप्स्यते (also Kalyāṇamalla).

16. —*a*) T, Cv. d. m. p, Es भ्रूविलासानभिज्ञैः (also Param).—*c*) Sh, Cv. d. m. p. g. b –सुरभि क्षेत्रं. Some MSS सालं. Cv मालमुड्डारं क्षेत्रं (='an alluvial plateau' –Stein); Cs. d. p मालमुन्नतभूतलमित्युत्पलमालायां; Cm मालं मालाख्यं क्षेत्रं, शैलप्रायमुन्नतस्थलं; Sār. केचिन्मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रमिति ब्रुवते तन्न युक्तं. —*d*) Cv प्रवलय गतिं; Cst प्रगुणय (or प्रचलय) गतिं (for व्रज लघुगतिः). Cg. b, Ew किंचिदेवोत्तरेण. The incomplete MS of Cs (BORI no. 442 of 1887-91) begins with this stanza, on folio 5a, the first fifteen stanzas being lost on missing folios.

17. —*a*) Cd –दवोपप्लवं. —*d*) Cd. p तथोच्चः (also Param).
T (after 17), Cg. Ew (after 18), Cb (after 16) insert, and N, Śīla-d. (after 17) utilise:
(*Continued from page* 45)

*1 अध्वक्लान्तं प्रतिमुखगतं सानुमांश्चित्रकूट-
स्तुङ्गेन त्वां जलद शिरसा वक्ष्यति श्लाघमानः ।
आसारेण त्वमपि शमयेस्तस्य नैदाघमग्निं
सत्काराद्रैः फलति नचिरेणोपकारो महत्सु ।।

Cv includes it (after 17) but believes it to be spurious and

छन्नोपान्तः परिणतफलद्योतिभिः काननाम्रै-
स्त्वय्यारूढे शिखरमचलः स्निग्धवेणीसवर्णे ।
नूनं यास्यत्यमरमिथुनप्रेक्षणीयामवस्थां
मध्ये श्यामः स्तन इव भुवः शेषविस्तारपाण्डुः ॥ १८ ॥

स्थित्वा तस्मिन्वनचरवधूभुक्तकुञ्जे मुहूर्तं
तोयोत्सर्गद्रुततरगतिस्तत्परं वर्त्म तीर्णः ।
रेवां द्रक्ष्यस्युपलविषमे विन्ध्यपादे विशीर्णां
भक्तिच्छेदैरिव विरचितां भूतिमङ्गे गजस्य ॥ १९ ॥

तस्यास्तिक्तैर्वनगजमदैर्वासितं वान्तवृष्टि-
र्जम्बूकुञ्जप्रतिहतरयं तोयमादाय गच्छेः ।
अन्तःसारं घन तुलयितुं नानिलः शक्ष्यति त्वां
रिक्तः सर्वो भवति हि लघुः पूर्णता गौरवाय ॥ २० ॥

नीपं दृष्ट्वा हरितकपिशं केसरैरर्धरूढै-
राविर्भूतप्रथममुकुलाः कन्दलीश्चानुकच्छम् ।
दग्धारण्येष्वधिकसुरभिं गन्धमाघ्राय चोर्व्याः
सारङ्गास्ते जललवमुचः सूचयिष्यन्ति मार्गम् ॥ २१ ॥

remarks: एतदनुकारी क्वचिदयमपि श्लोको विद्यते, where एतद् refers to 17. Śāśvata includes it, but remarks: कस्मिंश्चित्पुस्तके अध्वक्लान्तमित्यादिप्रक्षेपश्लोकोऽस्ति. [variants: *a*) Cv आम्रकूटः.—*d*) N, Śila. d., Cg. b, WEd सद्भावार्द्रैः).

18. —*d*) Sh, Cd. p सर्पवेणीसवर्णे (also Param); Cs सर्वेवेणी. —*d*) N मेघश्यामः स्तन इव.

19. —*a*) J तस्मिन्स्थित्वा by transp. —*b*) Cs. c. st. b, Ew. g. s. तोयोत्सर्गात् (also Param). Some MSS. लघुतरगतिः —*c*) Cst विकीर्णां-

20. —*a*) Sumati and some MSS तस्यास्तीक्ष्णैः.—*b*) Cv, Eg जम्बूषण्ड–.

21. —*c*) Cs. d. m जग्ध्वारण्येष्व–; Cm दग्धारण्येष्विति पाठे दग्धमित्यधिक–विशेषणं (This view is criticised in Ei).—*d*) The word सारङ्ग occurs in two places in Śākuntala in the sense of the deer. Some MSS नवजलमुचः. After 21, T, Sh, Cs, c. g. b, Ew insert, and N, Śila-d. utilise:

उत्पश्यामि द्रुतमपि सखे मत्प्रियार्थं यियासोः
कालक्षेपं ककुभसुरभौ पर्वते पर्वते ते ।
शुक्लापाङ्गैः सजलनयनैः स्वागतीकृत्य केकाः
प्रत्युद्यातः कथमपि भवान्गन्तुमाशु व्यवस्येत् ।। २२ ।।

पाण्डुच्छायोपवनवृतयः केतकैः सूचिभिन्नै-
र्नीडारम्भैर्गृहबलिभुजामाकुलग्रामचैत्याः ।
त्वय्यासन्ने परिणतफलश्यामजम्बूवनान्ताः
संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः ।।२३ ।।

तेषां दिक्षु प्रथितविदिशालक्षणां राजधानीं
गत्वा सद्यः फलमपि महत्कामुकत्वस्य लब्धा ।
तीरोपान्तस्तनितसुभगं पास्यसि स्वादु यत्त-
त्सभ्रूभङ्गं मुखमिव पयो वेत्रवत्याश्चलोर्मि ।। २४ ।।

*2 अम्भोबिन्दुग्रहणचतुरांश्चातकान्वीक्षमाणाः
श्रेणीभूताः परिगणनया निर्दिशन्तो बलाकाः ।
त्वामासाद्य स्तनितसमये मानयिष्यन्ति सिद्धाः
सोत्कम्पानि प्रियसहचरीसंभ्रमालिङ्गितानि ।।

Cm includes it but regards it as interpolated, remarking: प्रक्षिप्तमपि व्याख्यायते. [variants: *a*) T, Cc. g. b, Ew. g. –ग्रहणरभसान्. —*d*) N, Śila-d. Cs. c सोत्कण्ठानि].

22. —*c*) Bhoja's Sarasvatī-k. मुक्तापाङ्गैः: T, Cv सनयनजलैः.—*d*) Some MSS प्रत्युद्घातः Cp कथमिवेति पाठः... कथमपीति केचित्. Foulkes भवानाशु गन्तुम्

23. —*b*) Cg. b, Ew. g नीडारम्भे. —*c*) Cv. g. b, Ew. g फलपरिणतिश्याम. —*d*) Cb केचित्तु अकतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा इति अकारप्रश्लेषं कुर्वन्ति. Cm कतिपयशब्दस्योत्तरपदत्वेऽपि न तच्छब्दस्योत्तरत्वमस्त्यस्य शास्त्रस्य प्रायिकत्वात् (See Chowdhury §19).

24. —*b*) Cv, s. c. d. m, Eg. s फलमविकलं (Cf. 34 d); T, Sh Cg. b, Ew फलमतिमहत् (also Param); Foulkes त्वविकलफलं The text-reading as such is given by J. Cg reads लब्ध्वा and notices the text-reading लब्धा.—*c*) J स्वादु यत्र; T, Cg. b, Ew. g. s स्वादु (Cg. b स्वाद) युक्तं; Cs. m स्वादु यस्मात्; Foulkes स्वादु यत्त्वं (also as in text). —*d*) J, Sh, Cp चलोर्म्याः..

नीचैराख्यं गिरिमधिवसेस्तत्र विश्रामहेतो-
स्त्वत्संपर्कात्पुलकितमिव प्रौढपुष्पैः कदम्बैः ।
यः पण्यस्त्रीरतिपरिमलोद्गारिभिर्नागराणा-
मुद्दामानि प्रथयति शिलावेश्मभिर्यौवनानि ॥ २५ ॥

विश्रान्तः सन्व्रज वननदीतीरजातानि सिञ्च-
न्नुद्यानानां नवजलकणैर्यूथिकाजालकानि ।
गण्डस्वेदापनयनरुजाक्लान्तकर्णोत्पलानां
छायादानात्क्षणपरिचितः पुष्पलावीमुखानाम् ॥ २६ ॥

वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां
सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुखो मा स्म भूरुज्जयिन्याः ।
विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौराङ्गनानां
लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितोऽसि ॥ २७ ॥

25. —*a*) J विश्रान्तिहेतोः. Cv विश्रामशब्दः कवीनां प्रमादजः; but Cm defends the form (see Pathak's remarks on this, p. 83; Chowdhury § 7*v*.—*b*) Cp इवाप्रौढपुष्पैः; Cv केचित्त्वप्रौढेति पेठुः

26. —*a*) Cg, Ew. g. s नगनदी–; Cst. b नवनदी– (also Śāśvata, Kalyāṇamalla, Śār. and Mahima), said to be the name of a river. Cm: नदनदीति पाठे पुमान् स्त्रियेत्येकवद्भावो दुर्वारः. J, Cd. p–तीरजानां निषिञ्चन्, —*c*) Cb, Ew. g. –रुजा क्लान्त–(also Mahima). Cb: रुजेति रुक्शब्दात्तृतीया; रुजाक्लान्तेति समस्तमपि वदन्ति, आबन्तरुजाशब्दस्यापि वर्तमानत्वात्. —*d*) N छायादानक्षण–.

27. —*a*) Cd. p पन्थास्तवं भवतु च; Foulkes पन्थास्तव यदपि च or पन्था यदि च भवतः. Some Mss उत्तरस्यां.—*b*) Cs. d. g, Ew (also Param) मा च भूः (Cs चकारो वाक्यान्तरसमुच्चये).—*c*) T, Sh, Cg, b, Ew. g. s –स्फुरणचकितः J, Et यत्र (for तत्र). Foulkes तत्र बिम्बाधराणां. —*d*) J, Cd लोचनैर्वञ्चितः स्याः (also Param and Et); Foulkes वञ्चितो लोचनैः स्याः.

वीचिक्षोभस्तनितविहगश्रेणिकाञ्चीगुणायाः
संसर्पन्त्याः स्खलितसुभगं दर्शितावर्तनाभेः ।
निर्विन्ध्यायाः पथि भव रसाभ्यन्तरः संनिपत्य
स्त्रीणामाद्यं प्रणयवचनं विभ्रमो हि प्रियेषु ।। २८ ।।

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिला तामतीतस्य सिन्धुः
पाण्डुच्छाया तटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपर्णैः ।।
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः ।। २९ ।।

प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्
पूर्वोद्दिष्टामनुसर पुरीं श्रीविशालां विशालाम् ।
स्वल्पीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणां गां गतानां
शेषैः पुण्यैर्हृतमिव दिवः कान्तिमत्खण्डमेकम् ।। ३० ।।

28. —*a*) Cp स्वनितविहग–; some MSS –क्वणित० Cf. Vikram. iv. 28.= *c*) Cc. g. b, Ew. g. रसाभ्यन्तरं (also Sār. and Mahima). —*d*) Śīla-d., Sār; Ew आद्यं प्रणयि; some Comm. and Mss आद्यप्रणय–.

29. —*a*) Cv –सलिलां. Sh, Cm –सलिलासावतीतस्य; Some Mss –सलिला सा व्यतीतस्य; Cs. d, Et –सलिला सा त्वतीतस्य. Cm तामतीतस्येति पाठमाश्रित्य सिन्धुर्नाम नद्यन्तरमिति व्याख्यानं तु सिन्धुर्नाम कश्चिन्नदः काश्मीरदेशेऽस्ति, नदी तु कुत्रापि नास्तीत्युपेक्ष्यमित्याचक्षते; this apparently refers to the criticism of Cd. s in similar terms. But there is a river named Sindhu in Central India, see Nandargikar p. 32, Vidyasagar p. 116 and Pathak p. 84; identified with Kālā Sindh which flows into the Chambal. Cv. सिन्धु. —*b*) Cv पाण्डुच्छायां. Cg. b, Ew. g शीर्णपर्णैः (also Param); some Mss जीर्णपत्रैः. —*c*) Eg and some Mss तेऽसुभगविरहावस्थया (Ei remarks on this: तत्पक्षे असुभगेति विरहावस्थाविशेषणम्). –Cv. व्यञ्जयन्तीं.

30. —*a*) Cg. b, Ew प्राप्यावन्तीं and –ग्रामवृद्धां. Cb and Śāśvata: केचित्तु प्राप्यावन्तीनिति पठन्ति. —*b*) J, Sh, Cp उपसर. —*c*) Some Mss स्वचरितफले. —*d*) J, Cd. p कृतमिव (also Param).

दीर्घीकुर्वन्पटु मदकलं कूजितं सारसानां
प्रत्यूषेषु स्फुटितकमलामोदमैत्रीकषायः ।
यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति सुरतग्लानिमङ्गानुकूलः
सिप्रावातः प्रियतम इव प्रार्थनाचाटुकारः ।। ३१ ।।

जालोद्गीर्णैरुपचितवपुः केशसंस्कारधूपै-
र्बन्धुप्रीत्या भवनशिखिभिर्दत्तनृत्तोपहारः ।
हर्म्येष्वस्याः कुसुमसुरभिष्वध्वखिन्नान्तरात्मा
नीत्वा रात्रिं ललितवनितापादरागाङ्कितेषु ।। ३२ ।।

31. —*a*) Sh, Cs. st. p, Ew. g (also Param and Mahima) पटुमदकलं (Cst. p also notice text-reading). —*b*) Sh प्रत्यूषेऽर्ध–. Some Mss स्फुरित–. Cf. चाटुकार इव दक्षिणानिलः Kumāra viii. 25d. —*c*) Cb तत्र. —cd) Some Mss in Foulkes transpose यत्र स्त्रीणां and सिप्रावातः. Some Mss शिप्रा. After 31, J, Cs insert the following verse:

*3 प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे
हैमं तालद्रुमवनमभूदत्र तस्यैव राज्ञः ।
अत्रोद्भ्रान्तः किल नलगिरिः स्तम्भमुत्पाट्य दर्पा-
दित्यागन्तून् रमयति जनो यत्र बन्धूनभिज्ञः ।

J continues: Cs (after 33) inserts:

*4 हारांस्तारांस्तरलगुटिकान्कोटिशः शङ्खशुक्तीः
शष्पश्यामान्मरकतमणीनुन्मयूखप्ररोहान् ।
दृष्ट्वा यस्यां विपणिरचितान्विद्रुमाणां च भङ्गा-
न्संलक्ष्यन्ते सलिलनिधयस्तोयमात्रावशेषाः ।।

Cm includes these verses (as well as *9) but transposes them and regards them as interpolated with the remark: इतःपरं प्रक्षिप्तमपि श्लोकत्रयं व्याख्यायते. Cs. c also include *9 consecutively after *3 and *4. Cst. includes *4 but remarks: केचित्प्रक्षेपकमिदमिति वदन्ति. N and Śīla-d. ultilise (after 33) *3 and *4, but like Cm transpose them. After 30, Mahima inserts these verses thus: *4, *9, 31, *3. [variants: *3—*c*) Some Mss नळ– or नडगिरिः. —*d*) Some Mss गमयति (for रमयति) and तैस्तैर्विशेषैः (for बन्धूनभिज्ञः). *4—*a*) J घुटिकान्; Cs गुलिकान्. —*c*) Some Mss यस्यां दृष्ट्वा. Are emeralds a product of the sea, as described in *4 ?

32. —*a*) Cv –संस्कारधूमैः (also Sumati and Mahima). —*b*) T, Sh, Cs. st. m. p. g. b, Ew. g –नृत्योपहारः. —*c*) Cd. m, Es अध्वखेदं नयेथाः.—*d*) J, Sh, N, Cs. st. (Śīla-d.) नीत्वा खेदं (Cd notices this

भर्तुः कण्ठच्छविरिति गणैः सादरं वीक्ष्यमाणः
पुण्यं यायास्त्रिभुवनगुरोर्धाम चण्डेश्वरस्य ।
धूतोद्यानं कुवलयरजोगन्धिभिर्गन्धवत्या-
स्तोयक्रीडानिरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्तैर्मरुद्भिः ।। ३३ ।।

अप्यन्यस्मिञ्जलधर महाकालमासाद्य काले
स्थातव्यं ते नयनविषयं यावदत्येति भानुः ।
कुर्वन्संध्याबलिपटहतां शूलिनः श्लाघनीया-
मामन्द्राणां फलमविकलं लप्स्यसे गर्जितानाम् ।। ३४ ।।

पादन्यासक्वणितरशनास्तत्र लीलावधूतै
रत्नच्छायारचितवलिभिश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः ।
वेश्यास्त्वत्तो नखपदसुखान्प्राप्य वर्षाग्रबिन्दू-
नामोक्ष्यन्ते त्वयि मधुकरश्रेणिदीर्घान्कटाक्षान् ।। ३५ ।।

पश्चादुच्चैर्भुजतरुवनं मण्डलेनाभिलीनः
सांध्यं तेजः प्रतिनवजपापुष्परक्तं दधानः ।
नृत्तारम्भे हर पशुपतेरार्द्रनागाजिनेच्छां
शान्तोद्वेगस्तिमितनयनं दृष्टभक्तिर्भवान्या ।। ३६ ।।

variant); T. Cg. b, Ew. g त्यक्तवा खेदं (also Kalyāṇamalla); Cc. p खेदं नीत्वा (also Param); Cd, Et पश्यन् लक्ष्मीं; Cm, Es लक्ष्मीं पश्यन्; Foulkes जीमूत. त्वं; some Mss मुक्त्वा खेदं or रात्रिं नीत्वा.

33. —*a*) Sh, Cv सादरं दृश्यमानः (also Param). —*b*) J, Sh, Cs. c. st. m, Es चण्डीश्वरस्य; T substitutes श्रीकण्ठ.—*c*) Some Mss धौतोद्यानं.—*d*) Sh. Cd –क्रीडाभिरत–(Śāśvata accepts this reading); Cp. g. b, Ew (Param, shorter recension) –क्रीडाविरत– (Cg. b अविरत= अव्यासक्त; Cp विरत=निवृत्त).

34. —*b*) T, Cv. s. st. g. b, Ew. g अभ्येति (Cs अभ्येति अतिक्रामति); Sh अप्येति. —*d*) Eg and some Mss आमन्त्राणां.

35. —*a*) Sh, Cm पादन्यासैः. —*b*) Some Mss –रचितवलिभिः, and कान्तहस्ता. —*d*) Cv. s. d. p. Ew. g आमोक्ष्यन्ति (also Param).

36. —*b*) Cb सायं तेजः. Cs विकसितजपा–(also Sār. Sumati and Mahima). Sh, Cg. b, Ew. g. s. –जबा–.—*c*) T, Sh, Cs. st. m. g. b, Ew. g नृत्यारम्भे.—*d*) Cp शान्तोद्वेगः स्तिमित–(also Śīla-d.). See Cm on the un-Pāṇinian formation दृष्टभक्तिः; also Chowdhury §25.

गच्छन्तीनां रमणवसतिं योषितां तत्र नक्तं
रुद्धालोके नरपतिपथे सूचिभेद्यैस्तमोभिः ।
सौदामन्या कनकनिकषस्निग्धया दर्शयोर्वीं
तोयोत्सर्गस्तनितमुखरो मा स्म भूर्विक्लवास्ताः ।। ३७ ।।

तां कस्यांचिद्भवनवलभौ सुप्तपारावतायां
नीत्वा रात्रिं चिरविलसनात्खिन्नविद्युत्कलत्रः ।
दृष्टे सूर्ये पुनरपि भवान्वाहयेदध्वशेषं
मन्दायन्ते न खलु सुहृदामभ्युपेतार्थकृत्याः ।। ३८ ।।

तस्मिन्काले नयनसलिलं योषितां खण्डितानां
शान्तिं नेयं प्रणयिभिरतो वर्त्म भानोस्त्यजाशु ।
प्रालेयास्त्रं कमलवदनात्सोऽपि हर्तुं नलिन्याः
प्रत्यावृत्तस्त्वयि कररुधि स्यादनल्पाभ्यसूयः ।। ३९ ।।

गम्भीरायाः पयसि सरितश्चेतसीव प्रसन्ने
छायात्मापि प्रकृतिसुभगो लप्स्यते ते प्रवेशम् ।
तस्मादस्याः कुमुदविशदान्यर्हसि त्वं न धैर्या-
न्मोघीकर्तुं चटुलशफरोद्वर्तनप्रेक्षितानि ।। ४० ।।

तस्याः किंचित्करधृतमिव प्राप्तवानीरशाखं
हृत्वा नीलं सलिलवसनं मुक्तरोधोनितम्बम् ।
प्रस्थानं ते कथमपि सखे लम्बमानस्य भावि
ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः ।। ४१ ।।

37. —*a*) Ew तत्र रात्रौ.—*c*) Sh, Cv. s. st. Ew. g सौदामिन्या (also Param). T, Cg. Ew–निकषच्छायया (Cb notices this reading). Cf Vikramorvaśīya iv. 1 कनकनिकषस्निग्धा विद्युत्प्रिया मम नोर्वशी. —*d*) Some Mss –विमुखो (for मुखरो). J, Cd. g. b, Ew (also Param) मा च भूः (Cd चकारो दर्शयेति क्रियया सेवासमुच्चयार्थः).

38. —*a*) Sh तस्याः किंचित् (Cf 41 a). Cg. b, Ew. g-वडभौ.—*c*) Cp सूर्ये दृष्टे by transp.

39. —*c*) Cst, Param and some Mss कमलनयनात्.

त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसितवसुधागन्धसंपर्करम्यः
स्रोतोरन्ध्रध्वनितसुभगं दन्तिभिः पीयमानः ।
नीचैर्वास्यत्युपजिगमिषोर्देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते
शीतो वायुः परिणमयिता काननोदुम्बराणाम् ।। ४२ ।।

तत्र स्कन्दं नियतवसतिं पुष्पमेघीकृतात्मा
पुष्पासारैः स्नपयतु भवान्व्योमगङ्गाजलार्द्रैः ।
रक्षाहेतोर्नवशशिभृता वासवीनां चमूना-
मत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे संभृतं तद्धि तेजः ।। ४३ ।।

ज्योतिर्लेखावलयि गलितं यस्य बर्हं भवानी
पुत्रप्रेम्णा कुवलयदलप्रापि कर्णे करोति ।
धौतापाङ्गं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं
पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः ।। ४४ ।।

आराध्यैनं शरवणभवं देवमुल्लङ्घिताध्वा
सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद्वीणिभिर्मुक्तमार्गः ।
व्यालम्बेथाः सुरभितनयालम्भजां मानयिष्य-
न्स्रोतोमूर्त्या भुवि परिणतां रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्तिम् ।। ४५ ।।

त्वय्यादातुं जलमवनते शार्ङ्गिणो वर्णचौरे
तस्याः सिन्धोः पृथुमपि तनुं दूरभावात्प्रवाहम् ।
प्रेक्षिष्यन्ते गगनगतयो नूनमावर्ज्य दृष्टी-
रेकं मुक्तागुणमिव भुवः स्थूलमध्येन्द्रनीलम् ।। ४६ ।।

तामुत्तीर्य व्रज परिचितभ्रूलताविभ्रमाणां
पक्ष्मोत्क्षेपादुपरिविलसत्कृष्णशारप्रभाणाम् ।
कुन्दक्षेपानुगमधुकरश्रीमुषामात्मबिम्बं
पात्रीकुर्वन्दशपुरवधूनेत्रकौतूहलानाम् ।। ४७ ।।

ब्रह्मावर्तं जनपदमधश्छायया गाहमानः
क्षेत्रं क्षत्रप्रधनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्भजेथाः ।
राजन्यानां शितशरशतैर्यत्र गाण्डीवधन्वा
धारापातैस्त्वमिव कमलान्यभ्यवर्षन्मुखानि ॥ ४८ ॥

हित्वा हालामभिमतरसां रेवतीलोचनाङ्कां
बन्धुप्रीत्या समरविमुखो लाङ्गली याः सिषेवे ।
कृत्वा तासामभिगममपां सौम्य सारस्वतीना-
मन्तःशुद्धस्त्वमसि भविता वर्णमात्रेण कृष्णः ॥ ४९ ॥

तस्माद्गच्छेरनुकनखलं शैलराजावतीर्णां
जन्होः कन्यां सगरतनयस्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिम् ।
गौरीवक्त्रभ्रुकुटिरचनां या विहस्येव फेनैः
शंभोः केशग्रहणमकरोदिन्दुलग्नोर्मिहस्ता ॥ ५० ॥

तस्याः पातुं सुरगज इव व्योम्नि पश्चार्धलम्बी
त्वं चेदच्छस्फटिकविशदं तर्कयेस्तिर्यगम्भः ।
संसर्पन्त्या सपदि भवतः स्रोतसि च्छायया सा
स्यादस्थानोपगतयमुनासंगमेवाभिरामा ॥ ५१ ॥

आसीनानां सुरभितशिलं नाभिगन्धैर्मृगाणां
तस्या एव प्रभवमचलं प्राप्य गौरं तुषारैः ।
वक्ष्यस्यध्वश्रमविनयने तस्य शृङ्गे निषण्णः
शोभां शुभ्रत्रिनयनवृषोत्खातपङ्कोपमेयाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

तं चेद्वायौ सरति सरलस्कन्धसंघट्टजन्मा
बाधेतोल्काक्षपितचमरीबालभारो दवाग्निः ।
अर्हस्येनं शमयितुमलं वारिधारासहस्रै-
रापन्नार्तिप्रशमनफलाः संपदो ह्युत्तमानाम् ॥ ५३ ॥

52. —*d*) Cv शोभां रम्यां; Cd. g. b. शुभ्रां शोभां (also Param); notices text-reading. Et वृषोद्घात–; some Mss–वृषोद्धूत.

53. —*a*) Some Mss वायौ वहति or स्फुरति. Cb– स्कन्धसंघर्ष–. —*b*) Cg Ew. g उल्काक्षयित– (also Kalyāṇamalla).

ये त्वां मुक्तध्वनिमसहनाः स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय तस्मि-
न्दर्पोत्सेकादुपरि शरभा लङ्घयिष्यन्त्यलङ्घ्यम् ।
तान्कुर्वीथास्तुमुलकरकावृष्टिहासावकीर्णा-
न्के वा न स्युः परिभवपदं निष्फलारम्भयत्नाः ।। ५४ ।।

तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपहृतबलिं भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः ।
यस्मिन्दृष्टे करणविगमादूर्ध्वमुद्धूतपापाः
कल्पन्तेऽस्य स्थिरगणपदप्राप्तये श्रद्दधानाः ।। ५५ ।।

शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः कीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः
संरक्ताभिस्त्रिपुरविजयो गीयते किंनरीभिः ।
निर्ह्रादी ते मुरज इव चेत्कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्या-
त्संगीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तत्र भावी समस्तः ।। ५६ ।।

54. —*ab*) J, Sh, Cs, c. d. m. p, Es ये संरम्भोत्पतनरभसाः स्वाङ्ग (Sh. रभस-स्वाङ्ग) भङ्गाय तस्मिन्मुक्ताध्वानं (Sh, Es मुक्तध्वानं; also Kalyāṇamalla and Sumati) सपदि शरभा लङ्घयेयुर्भवन्तं (also Param); Cb notices this reading. Cv. कायभङ्गाय and Some Mss लम्भयेयुः. The text-reading for these Pādas is given by T, Cv. st. g. b, Ew. g.—*c*) J, Sh, Cs, c. d. m. p– वृष्टिपातावकीर्णान् (also Param); Cc notices the text-reading which is given also by Sār. and Sumati; Cb notes the variant –वृष्टिघातावकीर्णान्.—*d*) J, Sh, Cp केषां न स्युः (also Param). Sh, Cd. p परिभवफलाः (also Param).

55. —*b*) Sh उपभृतबलिं; Cd. m, Ew. g. s उपचित०; Cg. b उपहित०. —*c*) T, Cg. b, Ew. g दूरमुद्धूत.—*d*). J, T, Sh, Cs. d. m. p कल्पिष्यन्ते (Cc notices this variant); N, Cc (also Śīla-d. and Kalyāṇa-malla) संकल्पन्ते; Text-reading in Cv. g. b, Ew. g. s (Ei अयमेव पाठः साधीयान्, निरुपसर्गस्यैव क्लृप्तेः पर्याप्तिवाचकत्वात्समित्युपसर्गयोगे तु धातुरयमर्थान्तरं बोधयति). Some Mss सुरगणपद– (this variant is also noticed by Param, who reads स्थिरगुणपद–).

56. —*b*) Cc. d. m संसक्ताभिः; Cm notices the text-reading.—*c*) Sh, Cc. m निर्ह्रादिस्ते Cd मुरव इव (also Param). Cv कन्दरासु.—d) T, Sh, N, Cs. c. st. m. p. g. b, Ew. g. s तत्र भावी समग्रः (Cd notices this as well as the text-reading); Cd नृत्यतस्तत्रपूर्णः; text-reading in J, Cv, Param.

प्रालेयाद्रेरुपतटमतिक्रम्य तांस्तान्विशेषा-
न्हंसद्वारं भृगुपतियशोवर्त्म यत्क्रौञ्चरन्ध्रम् ।
तेनोदीचीं दिशमनुसरेस्तिर्यगायामशोभी
श्यामः पादो बलिनियमनाभ्युद्यतस्येव विष्णोः ॥ ५७ ॥

गत्वा चोर्ध्वं दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासितप्रस्थसंधेः
कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनितादर्पणस्यातिथिः स्याः ।
शृङ्गोच्छ्रायैः कुमुदविशदैर्यो वितत्य स्थितः खं
राशीभूतः प्रतिदिशमिव त्र्यम्बकस्याट्टहासः ॥ ५८ ॥

उत्पश्यामि त्वयि तटगते स्निग्धभिन्नाञ्जनाभे
सद्यःकृत्तद्विरददशनच्छेदगौरस्य तस्य ।
लीलामद्रेः स्तिमितनयनप्रेक्षणीयां भवित्री-
मंसन्यस्ते सति हलभृतो मेचके वाससीव ॥ ५९ ॥

हित्वा तस्मिन्भुजगवलयं शंभुना दत्तहस्ता
क्रीडाशैले यदि च विहरेत्पादचारेण गौरी ।
भङ्गीभक्त्या विरचितवपुः स्तम्भितान्तर्जलौघः
सोपानत्वं व्रज पदसुखस्पर्शमारोहणेषु ॥ ६० ॥

57. —*a*) Some Mss उपक्रम्य.—*c*) J दिशमनुपतेः; Cv दिशमभिसरेः.—*d*) Some Ms पादन्यासो बलि–. J बलिनियमने; Cd p बलिविमथना– (also Param). N बलिनियमनायोद्यतस्येव.

58. —*b*) Some Mss दर्शनास्यातिथिः.—*c*) Sh, Ew तुङ्गोच्छ्रायैः. Some Mss कुसुमविशदैः. Foulkes व्याप्य योऽद्यः स्थितः ख.—*d*) J, Sh, Cd. m. p (Śīla-d) प्रतिदिनमिव; Cv प्रतिनिशमिव; text-reading in T, N, Cs. c. st. g. b, Ew. g. s (also Sār., Sumati, Mahima and Kalyāṇamalla); it accounts best for the variants. Cf. alternative readings प्रतिदिशं and प्रतिदिनं in Stanza 503 of Kavīndra–vacana (ed. Thomas, Calcutta 1911, p. 157). The question really is whether temporal or spatial accumulation is meant.

59. —*b*) J, Cd. p –द्विरदरदन– (also Param).—*c*) T, Sh, Cd. st. m. p. b, Ew. s शोभामद्रेः (also Param); the text-reading is noticed by Cb as a variant, but Śāśvata says: शोभामित्यपपाठ एवेत्यभिमतमस्माकम्.

60. —*a*) J Sh, Cs तस्मिन्हित्वा; Cv. st. हित्वा नीलं.—*b*) Cst. m. p. g.b (also Param) विचरेत् (Cp notices text-reading).—*c*) Cd. p

तत्रावश्यं वलयकुलिशोद्घट्टनोद्गीर्णतोयं
नेष्यन्ति त्वां सुरयुवतयो यन्त्रधारागृहत्वम् ।
ताभ्यो मोक्षस्तव यदि सखे घर्मलब्धस्य न स्या-
त्क्रीडालोलाः श्रवणपरुषैर्गर्जितैर्भाययेस्ताः ।। ६१ ।।

हेमाम्भोजप्रसवि सलिलं मानसस्याददानः
कुर्वन्कामात्क्षणमुखपटप्रीतिमैरावणस्य ।
धुन्वन्वातैः सजलपृषतैः कल्पवृक्षांशुकानि
च्छायाभिन्नः स्फटिकविशदं निर्विशेस्तं नगेन्द्रम् ।। ६२ ।।

तस्योत्सङ्गे प्रणयिन इव स्रस्तगङ्गादुकूलां
न त्वं दृष्ट्वा न पुनरलकां ज्ञास्यसे कामचारिन् ।
या वः काले वहति सलिलोद्गारमुच्चैर्विमाना
मुक्ताजालग्रथितमलकं कामिनीवाभ्रवृन्दम् ।। ६३ ।।

भङ्गी भक्त्या; Foulkes भक्त्या भङ्गी. Some Mss सूचितान्तर्. Cv –जलोऽस्याः.—*d*) T, Cst. g. b, Ew. g. s सोपानत्वं व्रज (as in text); Cd सोपानं त्वं. Cv. कुरु सुखपद–. J, Sh, N, Cs. d. m. p (also Param and Śīla-d.) कुरु मणितटारोहणाग्रयायी (J. रोहणायाग्रचारी); Cst and some Mss°मणिशिलारोहणायाग्रयायी. Some Mss स्पर्शमारोहणाय.

61. —*a*) Cv जनितसलिलोद्गारमन्तःप्रवेशात्; Cst and some Mss कुलिश (= हीरक Sār.) वलयोद्घट्टनोदीर्ण (Cst नोद्गीर्ण) तोय.—*b*) Some Mss सद्यो मोक्षः. J यदि तव by transp.—*c*) Some Mss शर्मलब्धस्य.—*d*) Some Mss श्रवणकटुकैः or °कटुभिः. J, T, Sh, N, Cs गर्जितैर्भीषयेस्ताः; Cst, Sar. गर्जितैर्भापयेस्ताः; Some Mss भर्त्सयेस्ताः. On these forms see Pathak p. 98.

62. Ei considers this st. interpolated.—*a*) Et आदधानः. —*b*) J, T, Sh, Cs. m कामं. T. Cc. st. d. m. p. g. b. Ew. g. s. ऐरावतस्य; J. Cv, s, Et and Mahima as in text.—*c*) J, Sh, Cst. d. m. p धुन्वन्कल्प (Cp धून्वन्कल्प) द्रुमकिसलयान्यंशुकानीव वातैः (J, Sh, Cst. p, Et अंशुकानि स्ववातैः); T, Cv. s. c. g. b, Ew. g. s. give the text-reading.—*d*) Some Mss स्फटिकविमलं. T, Cg. b, Ew. g. s. च्छायाभिन्नस्फटिकविशदं; J. Sh, N, Cd. m. p नानाचेष्टैर्जलद ललितैः (also Param and Śīla-d). Cv निर्विशेः पर्वत तं.

63. —*a*) Cv –दुगूलां.—*b*) Some Mss व्योमचारिन्.—*c*) T, Sh, Cs. c. st. d. p. g. b, Ew. g. s. also Param विमानैः. (Text–reading in J, Cv. m).

विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः
संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहाग्राः
प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥ ६४ ॥

हस्ते लीलाकमलमलकं बालकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीता लोध्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामाननश्रीः ।
चूडापाशे नवकुरवकं चारु कर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वपदुगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् ॥ ६५ ॥

N. B. The division into Purva-and Uttara-megha is here made by some commentators and manuscripts, and is now conventionally accepted; but it is somewhat arbitrary and is not found in the early commentaries of Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva, nor in Jinasena's text.

64. —*b*) Cs. d संगीतार्थे–. Cd. p प्रहतमुरवाः. J, Cd. p स्निग्धपर्जन्यघोषं. After 64, the sequence of stanzas 65–72 is as follows: in J 67, 70, 5, *6, *65, 66, 69, 68, *7, *8, *9, *10, 71, 72; in T, Cg. b, Ew. g 65, 66, 70, 69, 68, 67, 71, 72; in Sh 65, *5, *6, 66, *7, 69, 68, 67, *8, 70, 71, *10, 72; in N *9, *6, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, *8, *5, *7, *10, 70, 71, 72; in Śīla-d. 65, *9, *6, 66, 70, 69, *5, *8, 68, *7, 67, *10, 71, 72; in Cv. st as in text; in Cs 65, *6, 66, *7, 69, 70, 68, *5, 67, *8, 71, *10, 72; in Cd. p (which omit 70) 65, 66, 69, 68, 67, 71, 72 (also Param); in Cm 65, 66, *7, 69, 68, 67, *8, 70, 71, *10, 72 ; in *E*s 65, 66, 69, 68, 67, 70, 71, 72.

65. —*a*) J, Cs. c. d. m अलके; Cp. अलका. Cs. c–कुन्दानुबन्धः; Cd कुन्दानुवेधो; Cp कुन्दानुविद्धा. Cd criticises the text-reading as अपपाठ, which Cm disputes. Cs also notices text-reading as a variant. Sār., Sumati and Mahima as in text.—*b*) Cv. st रोध्रप्रसव–. Cd. m आनने श्रीः.—*c*) T, Ew कुरुवकं; Cm कुरबकं.—*d*) Ew सीमन्तेऽपि. J (after *6), Sh (after 65), Cs (after 68): insert, and N utilises (after *8):

*5 यत्रोन्मत्तभ्रमरमुखराः पादपा नित्यपुष्पा
हंसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिन्यः ।
केकोत्कण्ठा भवनशिखिनो नित्यभास्वत्कलापा
नित्यज्योस्नाः प्रतिहततमोवृत्तिरम्याः प्रदोषाः ॥

यस्यां यक्षाः सितमणिमयान्येत्य हर्म्यस्थलानि
ज्योतिश्छायाकुसुमरचनान्युत्तमस्त्रीसहायाः ।
आसेवन्ते मधु रतिफलं कल्पवृक्षप्रसूतं
त्वद्गम्भीरध्वनिषु शनकैः पुष्करेष्वाहतेषु ।। ६६ ।।

यत्र स्त्रीणां प्रियतमभुजोच्छ्वासितालिङ्गितानां-
मङ्गग्लानिं सुरतजनितां तन्तुजालावलम्बाः ।
त्वत्संरोधापगमविशदैश्चोतिताश्चन्द्रपादै-
र्व्यालुम्पन्ति स्फुटजललवस्यन्दिनश्चन्द्रकान्ताः ।। ६७ ।।

Sh continues; J (after 70), Cs (after 65) insert and N utilises (after *9):

*6 आनन्दोत्थं नयनसलिलं यत्र नान्यैर्निमित्तै-
र्नान्यस्तापः कुसुमशरजादिष्टसंयोगसाध्यात् ।
नाप्यन्यस्मात्प्रणयकलहाद्विप्रयोगोपपत्ति-
र्वित्तेशानां न च खलु वयो यौवनादन्यदस्ति ।।

Cc includes only *6. Cm includes and comments on these verses but pronounces them to be interpolated (श्लोकद्वयं प्रक्षिप्तम्). Śīla-d. utilises *6 (after *9) and *5 (after 69) [variants: *5.–J यत्रासन्नभ्रमरनिकराः, नित्यज्योत्स्ना–. Sār. यस्योन्मत्तभ्रमर–*6.– J नाप्यन्यत्र, न खलु च वयो).

66. —*a*) Sh शित–; Cb शितेति. . . .व्याचक्षते केचित्.—*b*) Sh, Cd. m. Ew. s- रचितान्यु -(also Sār.); Cp -खचितान्यु -(also Param). —*c*) T, Cg. b, Ew. g. s रतिरस. Cp and Param प्रसूति.—*d*) J–ध्वनिषु मधुरं. Hereafter Cg does not explain or meagrely explains 68, 70, 71, 73–78, 81, 84, 86–89, 94, 95, 98, 100–2, *13, 103–4, 106–7, 109, *14, 111 as they are said to be easy (सुगमम्) ; hence Cg's readings of these stanzas cannot be always determined.

J (after 68), Sh, Cs. c. m (after 66) insert and N (after *5), Śīla-d. (after 68) utilize:

*7 मन्दाकिन्याः सलिलशिशिरैः सेव्यमाना मरुद्भि-
र्मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छायया वारितोष्णाः ।
अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढैः
संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः ।।

[variants:—*a*) Cs पयसि शिशिरैः.—*b*) J तटवनरुहां].

67. —*a*) T, Cv. c. st. m, Eg. s–भुजालिङ्गनोच्छ्वासितानां; Sh–भुजोच्छ्वासितालिङ्गनानां; some Mss भुजालिङ्गितोच्छ्वासितानां.—*b*) Cst and Sār.

नेत्रा नीताः सततगतिना यद्विमानाग्रभूमी-
रालेख्यानां सलिलकणिकादोषमुत्पाद्य सद्यः ।
शङ्कास्पृष्टा इव जलमुचस्त्वादृशा यत्र जालै-
र्धूमोद्गारानुकृतिनिपुणा जर्जरा निष्पतन्ति ।। ६८ ।।

नीवीबन्धोच्छ्वसितशिथिलं यत्र यक्षाङ्गनानां
वासः कामादनिभृतकरेष्वाक्षिपत्सु प्रियेषु ।
अर्चिस्तुङ्गानभिमुखमपि प्राप्य रत्नप्रदीपा-
न्ह्रीमूढानां भवति विफलप्रेरणा चूर्णमुष्टिः ।। ६९ ।।

यन्त्रजालावलम्बा: (Cs notices this reading). —*c*) Some Mss त्वत्संपर्कोपगम–. J इन्दुपादैर्निशीथे; T, Sh, Cs. c. st. m. d. p. चन्द्रपादैर्निशीथे; Cg, Ew. g प्रेरिताश्चन्द्रपादै: (also Sār. and Kalyāṇamalla); Cb, Es चोदिताश्चन्द्र०; some Mss द्योतिताश्चन्द्र०; text-reading in Cv, which explains the variants. J (after *7), Sh, Cs. m (after 67) insert and N (after 69), Śila-d. (after *5) utilise:

*8 अक्षय्यान्तर्भवननिधयः प्रत्यहं रक्तकण्ठै-
रुद्गायद्भिर्धनपतियशः किंनरैर्यत्र सार्धम् ।
वैभ्राजाख्यं विबुधवनितावारमुख्यासहाया
बद्धालापा बहिरुपवनं कामिनो निर्विशन्ति ।।

[variants: —*a*) 3s अक्षीणान्तर्भवन–. —*d*) N, Cs बद्धापानं; Śila-d. बद्ध्वा यानं; some Mss बह्वालापा].

68. —*a*) Some Mss यत्रानीता: T, Cb, Ew ये विमानाग्र-. Sh. Cp-भूमे:. (also Param). –*b*) J, T, Cg. b स्वजलकणिका- (Cf. 59*a*) (Cm. in Ei, Et has this reading!); Cv, Eg. s नवजलकणै: (Cb notices this reading); Ew सजलकणिका-; text-reading in Sh, Cs, c. st. d. m. p (also Sār). —*c*) Cm त्वादृशो. Cs. d. p यन्त्रजालै: (also Param and Sumati); Cm, Es जालमार्गै:.—*d*) Cp धूपोद्गारा-. Cv–निपुणं; some Mss–कुशला.

69. —*a*) Cv. p –बन्धोच्छ्सन–. J, Sh, Cs. d. m. p यत्र बिम्बाधराणां (also Param). —*b*) J, Sh, Cst. d. m. p, Es क्षौमं रागात् (also Param); some Mss वासः कायात्.—*c*) Cs. d विद्युद्दीप्रा (Cs दीप्ता) नभिमुखमपि. Cg. b, Ew. g. अभिमुखगतान्.—*d*) Sh विफलप्रेरिता; Cv. st विफलप्रेरण:; Śila–d. विफलप्रेरित:; some Mss विफल: प्रेरित:.

गत्युत्कम्पादलकपतितैर्यत्र मन्दारपुष्पैः
पत्रच्छेदैः कनककमलैः कर्णविभ्रंशिभिश्च ।
मुक्ताजालैः स्तनपरिचितैश्छिन्नसूत्रैश्च हारै-
र्नैशो मार्गः सवितुरुदये सूच्यते कामिनीनाम् ।। ७० ।।

मत्वा देवं धनपतिसखं यत्र साक्षाद्वसन्तं
प्रायश्चापं न वहति भयान्मन्मथः षट्पदज्यम् ।
सभ्रूभङ्गप्रहितनयनैः कामिलक्ष्येष्वमोघै-
स्तस्यारम्भश्चतुरवनिताविभ्रमैरेव सिद्धः ।। ७१ ।।

70. —Cd. p and Parameśvara omit this stanza. Ei considers it interpolated.—*a*) Some Mss गत्यौत्कम्पात्.—*b*) Cv. c. b क्लृप्तच्छेद्यैः; Ew. g ०च्छेदैः (noticed by Cb as a variant); Cs लुप्तच्छायैः. Cst पत्रच्छेद्यः (notices text-reading also). Cb, Ew. g कनकनलिनैः; Cs and some Mss –विस्रंसिभिश्च.—*c*) Cv. c. st मुक्तालग्नस्तनपरिमलैः; Cs मुक्तालग्नस्तनपरिसर-; Mahima मुक्ताजालस्तनपरिचय–. Mahima also notices the alternative reading मुक्तालग्नस्तनपरिमलच्छिन्न– (which is accepted by Sumati), as well as the text-reading. Sh, Cm, Ew. g. s. स्तनपरिसरच्छिन्न–; Cb स्तनपरिसरैश्छिन्न– (Cb defends this reading from the attack of Bṛhaspati); some Mss –परिमलैर्भिन्नसूत्रः,–परिचितछिन्नसूत्रैः and–परिचयछिन्नसूत्रैः Cst notices the variant मुक्ताजालस्तनपरिसरच्छिन्न–. Sār. remarks: मुक्तालग्नस्तनपरिमलच्छिन्नसूत्रैश्च हारैरिति मुख्यः पाठः, मुक्ताजालैः स्तनपरिसरच्छिन्नसूत्रैश्च हारैरिति पाठान्तरम् ।

J continues (after *8); Cs. c insert (after 31); N (after 64) and Śīla–d. (after 65) utilise:

*9 पत्रश्यामा दिनकरहयस्पर्धिनो यत्र वाहाः
शैलोदग्रास्त्वमिव करिणो वृष्टिमन्तः प्रभेदात् ।
योधाग्रण्यः प्रतिदशमुखं संयुगे तस्थिवांसः
प्रत्यादिष्टाभरणरुचयश्चन्द्रहासव्रणाङ्कैः ।।

Cm includes this verse in continuation of *3– *4 (see above under 31) but considers it to be interpolated. [variant: –*a*) Cs शष्पश्यामा, Et घासश्यामा (Sār. सस्यश्यामा). –*b*) Some Mss वृष्टिमन्तः पयोदाः].

71. —*a*) Some Mss दृष्ट्वा देवं—*b*) Cd भयात्त्वामपि प्रेक्ष्य कामः—*c*) J. Cs. c. b, Et सभ्रूभङ्गं. –*d*) T, Cb, Ew. g चटुलवनिता–.

तत्रागारं धनपतिगृहादुत्तरेणास्मदीयं
दूराल्लक्ष्यं तदमरधनुश्चारुणा तोरणेन ।
यस्योद्याने कृतकतनयः कान्तया वर्धितो मे
हस्तप्राप्यस्तबकनमितो बालमन्दारवृक्षः ।। ७२ ।।

वापी चास्मिन्मरकतशिलाबद्धसोपानमार्गा
हैमैः स्यूता कमलमुकुलैः स्निग्धवैडूर्यनालैः ।
यस्यास्तोये कृतवसतयो मानसं संनिकृष्टं
नाध्यास्यन्ति व्यपगतशुचस्त्वामपि प्रेक्ष्य हंसाः ।। ७३ ।।

J (after *8), Sh, Cs. m (after 71) insert and N (after *7), Śila-d. (after 67.) utilise:

*10 वासश्चित्रं मधु नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षं
पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैर्भूषणानां विकल्पान् ।
लाक्षारागं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्या-
मेकः सूते सकलमबलामण्डनं कल्पवृक्षः ।।

[variants: *b*) J विकल्पं; some Mss विशेषान्. *cd*) J च यस्मिन्नेकः सूते]

72. –*a*) Ew अत्रागारं. Cv. c. d. m. p. b, Es -गृहानुत्तरेण. (Cv. पञ्चम्यन्तः पाठस्त्वनार्षः but Tattvabodhinī on Sidhānta-Kaumudī (on ii. 3. 31) remarks on this passage: उत्तरेणेत्येतत्—तोरण-समानाधिकरणं तृतीयान्तं न त्वेनबन्तमित्याहुः, धनपतिगृहानुत्तरेणास्मदीयमिति कैश्चित्पठ्यते, तदा तु सम्यगेव। Cm धनपतिगृहादिति पाठे उत्तरेणेति नैनप्प्रत्ययान्तं किंतु तोरणेनेत्यस्य विशेषणं तृतीयान्तं। Cb गृहादुत्तरेणेति पाठे विशेषेऽपि क्वचित्सामान्यप्रवृत्तेर्दिक्-शब्देन योगे पञ्चमी। Sār., Sumati, Mahima, Parameśvara and Kalyāṇamalla as in text; so also Rājaśekhara in Kāvyamīmāmsā. The masculine gender of गृह is justified by quoting Amara-kośa गृहाः पुंसि च भूम्न्येव. —*b*) J, Cd. p त्वदमरधनुः; T, Sh, Cs. c. st. m. g. b, Ew. g. s. (also Param) सुरपतिधनुः (Mahima as in text). –*c*) Cv. d. m यस्योपान्ते. J वर्धितः कान्तया by transp. —*d*) Some Mss स्तबकविनतो.

73. –*b*) J, Sh, Cd. p हैमः स्फीता; Cs. c. st. m. b, Ew. s हैमैश्छन्ना (also Sār.). J, T, Cs. c. st. m, Es विकचकमलैः; some Mss कनककमलैः and कमलकुसुमैः. J, Sh, Cd. p दीर्घवैडूर्य (or वडूर्य) (also Param). –*c*) Cp यस्यास्तीरे. –*d*) Sh, N, Cc. m. d. Es नाध्यास्यन्ति (Cm आध्यानमुत्कण्ठास्मरणमिति काशिकायाम्); some Mss न ध्यान्ति. Some Mss त्वामलं J. प्राप्यहंसाः

तस्यास्तीरे रचितशिखरः पेशलैरिन्द्रनीलैः
क्रीडाशैलः कनककदलीवेष्टनप्रेक्षणीयः ।
मद्गेहिन्याः प्रिय इति सखे चेतसा कातरेण
प्रेक्ष्योपान्तस्फुरिततडितं त्वां तमेव स्मरामि ।। ७४ ।।

रक्ताशोकश्चलकिसलयः केसरश्चात्र कान्तः
प्रत्यासन्नौ कुरवकवृतेर्माधवीमण्डपस्य ।
एकः सख्यास्तव सह मया वामपादाभिलाषी
काङ्क्षत्यन्यो वदनमदिरां दोहदच्छद्मनास्याः ।। ७५ ।।

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
र्मूले बद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकशैः ।
तालैः शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैर्नर्तितः कान्तया मे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठः सुहृद्वः ।। ७६ ।।

74. —*a*) Cv, Ew यस्यास्तीरे J, Sh, Cs. c. d. p. (also Param) विहितशिखरः (text-reading also noticed by Cc); Cv निचित०.—*b*) T, Ew. g –वेष्टनः प्रेक्षणीयः; Sh and some Mss –वेष्टित–. —*d*) J–स्फुटित–. Param–स्फुटिततटितं.

75. —*a*) T, Cs. g. b, Ew केसरस्तत्र.–*b*) Cb, Ew. g प्रत्यासन्नः. T, Cb, Ew कुरुवक; Cst. m कुरुबक.—*d*) Sh वाञ्छत्यन्यो (also Śīla–d.). J दौहृद–; Cd. p. दोहल– (also Param). J transposes 75–78 and 79–81.

76. —*b*) Cv मूले नद्धा.—*c*) Sh, Cs. c. d. m शिञ्जावलय-; Foulkes (2 Mss) शिञ्जद्वलय–as in text. (Cv शिञ्जदिति प्रयोगः प्रमादजः, अनित्यो वानुदात्तेदात्मनेपदविधिः; Cp परस्मैपदित्वं चिन्त्यं; Cd परस्मैपदं न भवति; Cc शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैरित्यशुद्धः पाठः; Cb शिञ्जदिति क्वचिदात्मनेपदिनोऽपि परस्मैपदं स्यादिति बहवः प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते; Cs also notices and justifies the text-reading; Dhvanyāloka reads as in text). J, Ew कान्तया नर्तितो by transp. Some Mss सभ्रूभङ्गं करतललयैर्नर्तितः (Sār. and Mahima notice this reading; obvisouly it is an emendation).

एभिः साधो हृदयनिहितैर्लक्षणैर्लक्षयेथा
द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा ।
क्षामच्छायं भवनमधुना मद्वियोगेन नूनं
सूर्यापाये न खलु कमलं पुष्यति स्वामभिख्याम् ।। ७७ ।।

गत्वा सद्यः कलभतनुतां शीघ्रसंपातहेतोः
क्रीडाशैले प्रथमकथिते रम्यसानौ निषण्णः ।
अर्हस्यन्तर्भवनपतितां कर्तुमल्पाल्पभासं
खद्योतालीविलसितनिभां विद्युदुन्मेषदृष्टिम् ।। ७८ ।।

तन्वी श्यामा शिखरदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः ।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ।। ७९ ।।

77. —*a*) Some Mss मनसि निहितैः. Cv लक्षणैर्लक्षणीयं; Cs लक्षयेस्तत्. Cd लक्षयतेः कर्मादर्शनाल्लक्षयेस्तदिति केचित्पठन्ति.—*c*) T, Cb, Ew. g. s मन्दच्छायं (also Kalyāṇamalla).

78. —*a*) T, Cb, Ew. g. s. तत्परित्राणहेतोः—*b*) Cd रत्नसानौ.—*c*) Sh अर्हस्येनं भवन–.—*d*) Some Mss–विलसन–.

79. —*a*) J, Cd. m, Es शिखरिदशना; Sār. gives the variant अशिखरदशना. The text-reading is given by T, Sh, Cv. c. st. p. b, Ew. The phrase is found in *Rāmāyana* (Bom. ed) 3. 46. 17: समाः शिखरिणः स्निग्धाः पाण्डुरा दशनास्तव । [Cv शिखरदशना तीक्ष्णदन्ता । Cs शिखरिणः कोटिमन्तो दशना दन्ता यस्याः, शिखरदशनेति पाठे शिखराणि दाडिमबीजानीव दशना यस्याः। Cp शिखराख्यमाणिक्यविशेषवत् स्निग्धधवलारुणदन्ती । पक्वदाडिमबीजाभं माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुरिति हलायुधः । Cb (Cg similar) : शिखरवत्कुन्दकुट्मलवद्दशना दन्तास्तादृशी। शिखरं शृङ्गमग्रं च शिखरं कुन्दकुट्मल इति बलः । केचित्तु शिखरमग्रं तदतिशयेनात्रास्तीति अतिशयेऽर्शादित्वादत्; शिखरा अतिशयिताग्रा दशना यस्याः सा । तथा दशनानां तीक्ष्णाग्रत्वेन शुभलक्षणं सूचितम् । Cc शिखराणि दाडिमबीजानीव दशना यस्याः सा ।]. Cv. b, Eg–बिम्बाधरौष्ठी.—*b*) Cv -हरिणप्रेक्षणी; Cs. c. d या –हरिणीप्रेक्षणी; some Mss -हरिणीप्रेक्षिता.—*d*) Et and some Mss तत्रास्ते. J युवतिविषया T, Cb, Ew आद्यैव J transposes 79–81 and 75—78.

तां जानीयाः परिमितकथां जीवितं मे द्वितीयं
दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम् ।
गाढोत्कण्ठां गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बालां
जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वान्यरूपाम् ।। ८० ।।

नूनं तस्याः प्रबलरुदितोच्छूननेत्रं बहूनां
निःश्वासानामशिशिरतया भिन्नवर्णाधरोष्ठम् ।
हस्तन्यस्तं मुखमसकलव्यक्ति लम्बालकत्वा-
दिन्दोर्दैन्यं त्वदुपसरणक्लिष्टकान्तेर्बिभर्ति ।। ८१ ।।

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा
मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती ।
पृच्छन्ती वा मधुरवचनां सारिकां पञ्जरस्थां
कच्चिद्भर्तुः स्मरसि रसिके त्वं हि तस्य प्रियेति ।। ८२ ।।

80. —*a*) Sh, Cc. m, Es जानीथाः (cf use of Atmanepada of jñā in 63b).—*c*) J, Cd गादोत्कण्ठा (also Param). Cv. p गाढोत्कण्ठागुरुषु Cs. st. b notice this variant). J, Cd. p बाला (also Param).—*d*) J, Cd. p जाता मन्ये शिशिरमथिना पद्मिनीवान्यरूपा (also Pram). N, Cs. c तुहिनमथितां (also Sār and Śila-d.).

81. —*a*) Cs. c. st. d. m. p. b, Ew. g. s नेत्रं प्रियायाः.—*b*) Cv. b, Eg वर्णाधरौष्ठं.—*c*) T, Ew. g हस्ते न्यस्तं.—*d*) Sh त्वदुपगमनात्; N, Cc. st. m. p. b, Ew. g त्वदनुसरण–(also Śila-d.); Cs. d त्वदुपगमन–. Foulkes–क्षीणकान्तेः.

82. —*a*) Ew पुरे; Cb केचित्तु पुर इति अग्रतः. Sh संलक्ष्य ते गृहपतिधरे (!) —*b.*) Cc. b, Ew. g विरहतनुताभाव–(Cg notices this variant); Cb केचिभविरहतनुसद्भावेति पठन्ति. J भाव्यगम्यं some Mss भावगर्भं.—*c*) J मधुरवचनं.—*d*) Some Mss भर्तुः कच्चित् by transp. Sh, Cv. g. b, Ew. g स्मरसि निभृते (=विनीते Cv; निःशब्दे Cg;=विनीते, दक्षे वा, परितोषिते वा, विजनप्रदेशे वा Cb); Cd० गिरिके°(explained as: मार्जारादिसंनिधाना-त्पञ्जराभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्य बालमूषिकेव बिभेतीति बालमूषिकानामान्तरेण शारिकाया उपालम्भपूर्वं संबोधनम् । गिरिका बालमूषिकेत्यमरः); Cp ०सुभगे.

उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्गोत्राङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
तन्त्रीरार्द्रा नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथंचि-
द्भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ती ।। ८३ ।।

शेषान्मासान्विरहदिवसस्थापितस्यावधेर्वा
विन्यस्यन्ती भुवि गणनया देहलीमुक्तपुष्पैः ।
संयोगं वा हृदयनिहितारम्भमास्वादयन्ती
प्रायेणैते रमणविरहेष्वङ्गनानां विनोदाः ।। ८४ ।।

सव्यापारामहनि न तथा पीडयेद्विप्रयोगः
शङ्के रात्रौ गुरुतरशुचं निर्विनोदां सखीं ते ।
मत्संदेशैः सुखयितुमतः पश्य साध्वीं निशीथे
तामुन्निद्रामवनिशयनासन्नवातायनस्थः ।। ८५ ।।

83. —*a*) Cv सोम्य.—*b*) Cm गीतमिति पाठे स एवार्थः.—*c*) Sh, Cs. c. st. d. m. b तन्त्रीमार्द्रां.—*d*) J, Cs. c. st. d. p (also Param) स्वयमधिकृतां (Cd, however, explains स्वयमधिकृतामात्मप्रस्तुतां).

84. —*a*) Foulkes प्रथमदिवस–. Sh विरहदिवसे स्थापितस्य; Cv. s.. c. st. b, Ew. g. s °गमनदिवसप्रस्तुतस्य (Cs. c. st. b, Ew. g. s °स्थापितस्य; some Mss प्रस्थितस्य).—*b*) T, Cv. m दत्तपुष्पैः.—*c*) Sh, Cs. d. p. मत्संयोग (also Param); Cm संभोगं वा; Es मत्सङ्गं वा; Foulkes मत्संभोग. J हृदयरचिता–. Cb, Ew आसादयन्ती; some Mss उत्पादयन्ती.—*d*) Cb, Ew. g. s विरहे ह्यङ्गनानां.

85. —*a*) Cv. खेदयेत्. Cs. c. st. m. b, Ew. g. s. मद्वियोगः (Et as in text. !).—*c*) T, Sh, Cs. st. d. m. p. b, Ew. g. s सुखयितुमलं (also Param). Cb notices a variant सौम्य for पश्य.—*d*) J, Cs. d, Es अवनि- (Cd विरह-) शायनां सद्म–; Sh, Ew °शयनां सन्न- (also Kalyāṇamalla); N, Cc. m °शयनां सौध–, (Sār. Sumati and Śīla-d as in text). —The sequence of stanzas 85–92 in N and Cv is as follows: 88, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 90, 92, in Cs 85, 88, 87, 86, 89, 91, 90, 92; in Cst 88, 86, 87, 89, 91, 85, 90, 92; in Śīla-d. 88, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 85, 92. For slight change of order in Cc. m, Es see *v. l.* to 87.

आधिक्षामां विरहशयने संनिषण्णैकपार्श्वां
प्राचीमूले तनुमिव कलामात्रशेषां हिमांशोः ।
नीता रात्रिः क्षण इव मया सार्धमिच्छारतैर्या
तामेवोष्णैर्विरहमहतीमश्रुभिर्यापयन्तीम् ॥ ८६ ॥

निःश्वासेनाधरकिसलयक्लेशिना विक्षिपन्तीं
शुद्धस्नानात्परुषमलकं नूनमागण्डलम्बम् ।
मत्संयोगः कथमुपनमेत्स्वप्नजोऽपीति निद्रा-
माकाङ्क्षन्तीं नयनसलिलोत्पीडरुद्धावकाशाम् ॥ ८७ ॥

आद्ये बद्धा विरहदिवसे या शिखा दाम हित्वा
शापस्यान्ते विगलितशुचा तां मयोद्वेष्टनीयाम् ।
स्पर्शक्लिष्टामयमितनखेनासकृत्सारयन्तीं
गण्डाभोगात्कठिनविषमामेकवेणीं करेण ॥ ८८ ॥

86. —*a*) T, Cv. b, Ew. s संनिकीर्णैक–; some Mss विप्रकीर्णैक–. Cst -क्षाम and –पार्श्वा.—*b*). Some Mss –शेषं सुधांशोः Cst तनुरिव and –मात्रशेषा. —*c*) J, Cc. b, Ew. g क्षणमिव. Cb यद्यप्यमरकोशादौ क्षणशब्दस्य पुंस्त्वं दृष्टं तथापि क्षणमिव गमितो वासरो वासवेनेत्यादिप्रयोगदर्शनात्क्षणशब्दोऽजन्तादौ पठनीय इति कलिङ्गः; क्षण इवेति युक्तः पाठ इति शर्वः *d*) N, Cc. c. st. b. Ew विरहजनितैरश्रुभिः (also Śīla-d.); Cv विरहशयनेष्वश्रुभिः; some Mss विरहपरितैरश्रुभिः; some Mss विरहगुणितैरश्रुभिः N, Śīla-d. Cst यापयन्ती. Cv substitutes the second half of 87 for that of 86.

87. —*a*) Cst विक्षिपन्ती.—*b*) Cs. st आगण्डलम्बि (also Sār. Sumati and Mahima). —*c*) Cd. m. g मत्संभोगः. J कथमुपनयेत्; T, Cs. b, Eg. s कथमपि भवेत्; Cc, Ew क्षणमपि भवेत्. Cst, Sār. and some Mss सुखमुपनयेत्; Et कथमुपनमेत् in the text, but in comm. उपगमेदागच्छेत्. *d*) N, Cst आकाङ्क्षन्ती (also Śīla-d.). Some Mss रुद्धाश्रुवृत्त्या. For the second half of 87, Cv substitutes that of 86.—The order of 86-89 in Cm, Es is as follows: 86, 89, 87, 88; in Cc 88, 87, 86, 89.

88. —*a*) Sh, Cc. d या शिरोदाम; Cv. p. b, Eg या शिखादाम (also Param). Cd शिरोदाम हित्वेति पाठः। शिखादाम हित्वेति पाठे शिखाशब्दः शिरःशब्दपर्यायो न भवति.—*b*) T, Cs. st. b, Ew. g या (Cs. st सा) मयोद्वेष्टनीया; Cv या मयोन्मोचनीया.—*c*) Cb notices for अयमित a variant अपमित (also Sār.) and explains it as प्रापितापमान. Cst सारयन्ती.—*d*) Cv कठिनविषमात्; some Mss. कलुषविषमां.

पादानिन्दोरमृतशिशिराञ्जालमार्गप्रविष्टा-
न्पूर्वप्रीत्या गतमभिमुखं संनिवृत्तं तथैव ।
चक्षुः खेदात्सलिलगुरुभिः पक्ष्मभिश्छादयन्तीं
साभ्रेऽह्नीव स्थलकमलिनीं न प्रबुद्धां न सुप्ताम् ॥ ८९ ॥

सा संन्यस्ताभरणमबला पेलवं धारयन्ती
शय्योत्सङ्गे निहितमसकृद्दुःखदुःखेन गात्रम् ।
त्वामप्यस्त्रं नवजलमयं मोचयिष्यत्यवश्यं
प्रायः सर्वो भवति करुणावृत्तिरार्द्रान्तरात्मा ॥ ९० ॥

जाने सख्यास्तव मयि मनः संभृतस्नेहमस्मा-
दित्थंभूतां प्रथमविरहे तामहं तर्कयामि ।
वाचालं मां न खलु सुभगंमन्यभावः करोति
प्रत्यक्षं ते निखिलमचिराद्भ्रातरुक्तं मया यत् ॥९१ ॥

89. —*b*) Sh गतमपसुखं; Cd गतमपि ततः; some Mss अभिमुखगतं. Some Mss तदैव—*c*) J, Sh, Cp खेदाच्चक्षुः by transp. Cv. st. सजलगुरुभिः. Sh, Cp (also Param) छादयित्वा; Cst छादयन्ती.—*d*) N, Cst (also Śila-d) –कमलिनी न प्रबुद्धा न सुप्ता. Cm नप्रबुद्धां नसुप्ताम्.
After 89, T and some Mss insert:

*11 स्निग्धाः सख्यः कथमपि दिवा तां न मोक्ष्यन्ति तन्वी-
मेकप्रख्या भवति हि जगत्यङ्गनानां प्रवृत्तिः ।
स त्वं रात्रौ जलद शयनासन्नवातायनस्थः
कान्तां सुप्ते सति परिजने वीतनिद्रामुपेयाः ॥

*12 अन्वेष्टव्यामवनिशयने संनिकीर्णैकपार्श्वां
तत्पर्यङ्क(न्त)प्रगलितलवैश्छिन्नहारैरिवास्त्रैः ।
भूयो भूयः कठिनविषमां सारयन्तीं कपोला-
दामोक्तव्यामयमितनखेनैकवेणीं करेण ॥

90. —*a*) Cm पेशलं (also Sār. and Sumati); Ew कोमलं.—*c*) Cd. p आस्त्रं (also Param). T, Ew. g अश्रु जललवमयं; Cg अस्त्रं जलकणमयं; Cb notices a variant अस्त्रं नवजलकणं. T, Cs transpose 90, 91.—On the compound दुःखदुःखेन see Chowdhury § 18.

91. —*b*) Some Mss त्वत्सखीं तर्कयामि.—*c*) Cg, Eg. (also Sār.) सुभगं मन्युभावः (Cb notices this variant); some Mss सुभगं मन्यमानः.—*d*) Cd सकलमचिरात्, Sh, Et मया तत्; some Mss मयेति. T, Cs transpose 90 and 91.

रुद्धापाङ्गप्रसरमलकैरञ्जनस्नेहशून्यं
प्रत्यादेशादपि च मधुनो विस्मृतभ्रूविलासम् ।
त्वय्यासन्ने नयनमुपरिस्पन्दि शङ्के मृगाक्ष्या
मीनक्षोभाच्चलकुवलयश्रीतुलामेष्यतीति ॥ ९२ ॥

वामश्चास्याः कररुहपदैर्मुच्यमानो मदीयै-
र्मुक्ताजालं चिरपरिचितं त्याजितो दैवगत्या ।
संभोगान्ते मम समुचितो हस्तसंवाहनानां
यास्यत्यूरुः सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्चलत्वम् ॥ ९३ ॥

तस्मिन्काले जलद यदि सा लब्धनिद्रासुखा स्या-
दन्वास्यैनां स्तनितविमुखो याममात्रं सहस्व ।
मा भूदस्याः प्रणयिनि मयि स्वप्नलब्धे कथंचि-
त्सद्यः कण्ठच्युतभुजलताग्रन्थि गाढोपगूढम् ॥ ९४ ॥

तामुत्थाप्य स्वजलकणिकाशीतलेनानिलेन
प्रत्याश्वस्तां सममभिनवैर्जालकैर्मालतीनाम् ।
विद्युद्गर्भे स्तिमितनयनां त्वत्सनाथे गवाक्षे
वक्तुं धीरस्तनितवचनैर्मानिनीं प्रक्रमेथाः ॥ ९५ ॥

92. —*b*) T –भ्रूविकारं.—*c*) Cd वामं मृगाक्ष्या.—*d*) Cv. b, Ew. g. s मीनक्षोभाकुलकुवलय–; Cd मन्ये मीनोच्चलकुवलय–.

93. —*a*) Cv. st वामो वास्याः.—*b*) Sh, Cd. p, Ew चिरविरचितं (also Param).—*c*) Sh हस्तसंवाहनाभिः; some Mss °संवाहनस्य.—*d*) Cc. g, Ew. g कनककदली– (Cb notices this reading). J –गर्भगौरः; Cb –स्तम्बगौरः.

94. —*a*) Cv जलद दयिता लब्धनिद्रा यदि स्यात्.—*b*) Cs. c. st. b, Ew. s (also Sār.) तत्रासीनः. स्तनित–; some Mss अन्वासीनः. Cb, Ew. g. s सहेयाः (also Kalyāṇamalla).—*c*) J प्रणयिनि जने.

95. —*a*) J प्रोत्थाप्यैनां.—*b*) Some Mss मालतीनां रजोभिः—*c*) Sh, Cs. c. st. d. m. p विद्युद्गर्भः (also Param); Kalyāṇamalla, Sār. and some Mss विद्युद्गर्भं; Cb, Ew. g. s विद्युत्कम्प–. Cv निहितनयनां—*d*) J, Sh, Cp धीर स्तनित–; Cst. m. धीरः स्तनित– (also Sār. and Śila-d);

भर्तुर्मित्रं प्रियमविधवे विद्धि मामम्बुवाहं
तत्संदेशान्मनसि निहितादागतं त्वत्समीपम् ।
यो वृन्दानि त्वरयति पथि श्राम्यतां प्रोषितानां
मन्द्रस्निग्धैर्ध्वनिभिरबलावेणिमोक्षोत्सुकानि ।। ९६ ।।

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा
त्वामुत्कण्ठोच्छ्वसितहृदया वीक्ष्य संभाव्य चैव ।
श्रोष्यत्यस्मात्परमवहिता सौम्य सीमन्तिनीनां
कान्तोदन्तः सुहृदुपनतः संगमात्किंचिदूनः ।। ९७ ।।

तामायुष्मन्मम च वचनादात्मनश्चोपकर्तुं
ब्रूया एवं तव सहचरो रामगिर्याश्रमस्थः ।
अव्यापन्नः कुशलमबले पृच्छति त्वां वियुक्तः
पूर्वाशास्यं सुलभविपदां प्राणिनामेतदेव ।। ९८ ।।

Cs. c. d धीरैः स्तनित–; Cb धीरध्वनितः. J, Sh– स्तनितवचनो. Cb notices all these variants, as well as धीरध्वनितवचनो or °वचनं.

96. —*a*) J अभिदधे.—*b*) J, Cs. c. m, Es तत्संदेशैः. J, Ss. c. मनसि निहितैः; Cm, Es हृदयनिहितैः; Cst, some Mss हृदयनिहितात्. Cst. प्राप्तवांस्त्वत्. —*c*) Sh श्राम्यतां प्रेक्षितानां; Cp श्राम्यतामध्वगानां.—*d*) Hultzsch's Śāradā Ms सान्द्रस्निग्धैः; some Mss मन्द्रस्निग्ध–.

97. —*a*) Cb पवनतनये (Cb also notices text-reading). —*b*) Cst. b Ew संभाष्य (also Śāśvata, Sār. and Lakṣmīnivāsa). Cm. Ew चैवं (also Sār.). —*c*) J परमवहितं; some Mss परमपि हितं. Cv सोम्य.—*d*) J, Sh, Cp कान्तोपान्तात्सुहृदुपगमः (Sh उपगत). T, N, Cm. b, Ew उपगतः; Cs. c. st उपहृतः (also Śila-d, Sār. and Mahima).

98. —*a*) Sh, Cv, Eg आयुष्मान् Cv. s. st आत्मना. Cd. p चोपकर्तुः.—*b*) J, Sh, Cv. s. st. Eg ब्रूयादेवं.—*c*) Some Mss पृच्छति त्वा. J नियुक्तः; Sh, Cp. b, Ew and Param. वियुक्तां.—*d*) Sh, N, Cs. c. st. m पूर्वभाष्यं (also Sār. and Śīla-d). Sār.: पूर्वाशास्यमिति मूलपाठः. T, Cb, Ew. g. s भूतानां हि क्षयिषु करणेष्वाद्यमाश्वास्यमेतत्. N transposes 98 and 99.

अङ्गेनाङ्गं तनु च तनुना गाढतप्तेन तप्तं
सास्रेणास्रद्रवमविरतोत्कण्ठमुत्कण्ठितेन ।
उष्णोच्छ्वासं समधिकतरोच्छ्वासिना दूरवर्ती
संकल्पैस्तैर्विशति विधिना वैरिणा रुद्धमार्गः ।। ९९ ।।

शब्दाख्येयं यदपि किल ते यः सखीनां पुरस्ता-
त्कर्णे लोलः कथयितुमभूदाननस्पर्शलोभात् ।
सोऽतिक्रान्तः श्रवणविषयं लोचनाभ्यामदृष्ट-
स्त्वामुत्कण्ठाविरचितपदं मन्मुखेनेदमाह ।। १०० ।।

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षिते दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासा-
न्हन्तैकस्थं क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ।। १०१ ।।

99. —*a*) Sh, Cs. c. m, Es प्रतनु; Cb, Ew. g सुतनु (Cv चार्थभावात्प्रतनु तनुनेति पठनीयम्; Cs. c. m seem to adopt Cv's emendation; but Cd चकारः प्रतिविशेषणमाख्यातसंबन्धं कर्तुं प्रयुक्तः, Cp चकारः कुशलप्रश्न-समुच्चयार्थः).—*b*) Sh, Cs अश्रुद्रवं; Cc. m. b, Ew. s अश्रुद्रुतं; Cd. p, Eg अस्रद्रुतं. Cb, Ew. g. s दीर्घोच्छ्वासं; Foulkes प्रेम्णोच्छ्वासं Cd समधिकखरो–. —*d*) Cv. p. b, Ew. g. s संकल्पैस्ते (also Param and Kalyāṇamalla); Ei justifies this reading thus: तैरिति तच्छब्दप्रयोगस्यानुपयोगाद्युष्मच्छब्द-प्रयोगाभावे त्वदीयमङ्गमित्यस्य बोधयितुमशक्यत्वाच्च. N transposes 99 and 98.

100. —*a*) Cs. c. तत्सखीनां.—*b*) Some Mss कथयितुमगात्.—*c*) T, Sh, Cs. c. st, Ew. g. s लोचनाभ्यामदृश्यः (also Sār.); Cv. b लोचनानामगम्यः. —*d*) Śīla-d. उत्कण्ठातरलितपदं. Eg. संमुखे वेदं.

101. —*a*) Cv –हरिण–. Sh, Cd. m. p, Es -प्रेक्षणे. Cs. st, Ew दृष्टिपातान् (also Sār.).—*b*) T, Sh, Cv. s. b गण्डच्छायां (also Kalyāṇamalla); Ew °च्छायं.—*c*) Sh, Cd भ्रूपताकां (Cm notices this reading); Some Mss भ्रूविकारान्.—*d*) Cm हन्तैकस्मिन्. Cv न ते भीरु (also Sār.);

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलाया-
मात्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुम् ।
अस्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे
क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते संगमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥ १०२ ॥

मामाकाशप्रणिहितभुजं निर्दयाश्लेषहेतो-
र्लब्धायास्ते कथमपि मया स्वप्नसंदर्शनेषु ।
पश्यन्तीनां न खलु बहुशो न स्थलीदेवतानां
मुक्तास्थूलास्तरुकिसलयेष्वश्रुलेशाः पतन्ति ॥ १०३ ॥

भित्त्वा सद्यः किसलयपुटान्देवदारुद्रुमाणां
ये तत्क्षीरस्रुतिसुरभयो दक्षिणेन प्रवृत्ताः ।
आलिङ्ग्यन्ते गुणवति मया ते तुषाराद्रिवाताः
पूर्वं स्पृष्टं यदि किल भवेदङ्गमेभिस्तवेति ॥ १०४ ॥

Śīla-d. न ते सुभ्रु; Dhvanyāloka reads न ते भीरु; T translates चण्डी as वामलोचना.

T, Cg, Ew. g (after 102), Cb (after 101) insert and N (after 101), Śīla-d. (after 102) utilise:

*13 धारासिक्तस्थलसुरभिणस्त्वन्मुखस्यास्य बाले
दूरीभूतं प्रतनुमपि मां पञ्चबाणः क्षिणोति ।
घर्मान्तेऽस्मिन्विगणय कथं वासराणि व्रजेयु-
र्दिक्संसक्तप्रविततघनव्यस्तसूर्यातपानि ॥

[Variant: *d*) N, Śīla-d., Cb –प्रविरलघन-]

After 101, the order of stanzas in Śīla-d. is as follows: 104, 102, *13, 105, 106, 103, 107, 108, 110, *14, 109, 111.

102. —*c*) Cd. p अस्रैः Cv. p दृष्टिरालिप्यते; some Mss दृष्टिरालिख्यते.

103. —*a*) Sh आकाशे प्रणिहित–. —*b*) Cv. st कथमपि सति; some Mss कथमपि निशि.—*c*) Cd अन्ये तु पश्यन्तीनां तुहिनकणिकाच्छद्मना देवतानामिति पाठमादृत्य व्याचक्षते, इदं रसावहं न भवति.—*d*) Some Mss अश्रुपाताः.

104. —*a*) Some Mss छित्त्वा. Cp किसलयपुटं.—*b*) T—द्रुतिसुरभयो.—*d*) Cv. d. p पूर्वस्पृष्टं (also Param). J transposes 104 and 105.

संक्षिप्येत क्षण इव कथं दीर्घयामा त्रियामा
सर्वावस्थास्वहरपि कथं मन्दमन्दातपं स्यात् ।
इत्थं चेतश्चटुलनयने दुर्लभप्रार्थनं मे
गाढोष्माभिः कृतमशरणं त्वद्वियोगव्यथाभिः ॥ १०५ ॥

नन्वात्मानं बहु विगणयन्नात्मना नावलम्बे
तत्कल्याणि त्वमपि सुतरां मा गमः कातरत्वम् ।
कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥ १०६ ॥

शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
मासानन्यान्गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
पश्चादावां विरहगुणितं तं तमात्माभिलाषं
निर्वेक्ष्यावः परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥ १०७ ॥

105. —*a*) Cv संक्षिप्येरन्; Cs. c. st. संक्षिप्यन्ते (also Sār.); some Mss संक्षिप्यैवं. J, Sh, Cb, Ew. g क्षणमिव (also Kalyāṇamalla). Cv. s. c. st. –यामास्त्रियामाः (also Sār.).—*b*) Some Mss अहरपि च मे.—*d*) T, Cd, Ew. s गाढोष्णाभिः (also Foulkes). J transposes 105 and 104.

106. —*a*) Cd. m. p (also Param) न त्वात्मानं (Cm notices also text-reading) some Mss इत्यात्मानं (also Sār); Cb notices both these readings. J, T, Cs. c. st. m. b, Es विगणयन्नात्मनैवावलम्बे (also Sār.). —*b*) J, Cd. m, Es नितरां (also Param). —*c*) J, Cm कस्यैकान्तं. Ew. g उपगतं (also Sār. and Kalyāṇamalla). —*d*) Sh, Cp गच्छन्त्युपरि च दशाः.

107. —*b*) T, Cs. c. b, Ew मासानेतान्; Sh, Cst. m, Es शेषान्मासान् (also Param.).—*c*) Cs. c. d. m, Es विरहगणितं; Kalyāṇamalla and ome Mss °जनितं. J तमेवाभिलाषं.—*d*) Foulkes निर्विश्यावः.

भूयश्चाहं त्वमसि शयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे
निद्रां गत्वा किमपि रुदती सस्वरं विप्रबुद्धा ।
सान्तर्हासं कथितमसकृत्पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
दृष्टः स्वप्ने कितव रमयन्कामपि त्वं मयेति ।। १०८ ।।

एतस्मान्मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा
मा कौलीनादसितनयने मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः ।
स्नेहानाहुः किमपि विरहे ह्रासिनस्ते ह्यभोगा-
दिष्टे वस्तुन्युपचितरसाः प्रेमराशीभवन्ति ।। १०९ ।।

108. —*a*) Cb, Ew. g. s भूयश्चापि. Some Mss. भूयश्चासि त्वमपि. Cv, s. c. st. m त्वमपि (also Sār.).—*b*) T, Cb, Ew. g सत्वरं (Cb notices text-reading also); Cv. m सस्वनं. Foulkes च प्रबुद्धा.—*c*) J पृच्छतोऽसि; Cp पृच्छते च.—*d*) Some Mss रमयन्कामिनीं कामपि त्वं.

109. —*b*) Cm (as in Ep) चकितनयने (also Sār.).—*c*) T, Cb, Ew. g विरहव्यापदः; Cv विरहह्रासिनः; some Mss विरहध्वंसिनः. Sh भ्रंसिनस्ते; Cs. भ्रंशिनस्ते, Cc. m, Es ध्वंसिनस्ते. J तेऽप्यभोगात्; Cm, Es ते त्वभोगात्; Cb, Ew. g ते ह्यभोग्या (Cb त्वभोग्या).—*d*) T, Cb, Ew. g दृष्टे वस्तु–. J, T, Sh, N, Cs. c. m. g. (all after 109), Śīla-d. (after 110) Ew. s (after 110) insert or utilise:

*14 आश्वास्यैवं प्रथमविरहोदग्रशोकां सखीं ते
शैलादाशु त्रिनयनवृषोत्खातकूटान्निवृत्तः ।
साभिज्ञानप्रहितकुशलैस्तद्वचोभिर्ममापि
प्रातःकुन्दप्रसवशिथिलं जीवितं धारयेथाः ।।

But this verse is omitted by Cv. st. d. p. b. Param., Eg, and its authenticity is doubtful. Of Eastern Commentators Sanātana Gosvāmin and Kalyāṇamalla include it but Makaranda Miśra and Bharata-mallika omit it. The reasons urged for its exclusion are: (1) since the object of the Yakṣa, as mentioned at the outset, is to send a message for 'sustaining the life of his beloved,' the exhortation to bring back a message to sustain his own life is an out-of-place and clumsy effort, and (2) the stanza itself is made up of reminiscences from 10, 52, 91, 109. [variants: *a*), J, Cs. g, Ew आश्वास्यैनां. J–विरहे शोकदष्टां; Kalyāṇamalla and Ew –विरहादग्रशोकां; Foulkes –विरहेणोग्रशोकां. T,

कच्चित्सौम्य व्यवसितमिदं बन्धुकृत्यं त्वया मे
प्रत्यादेशान्न खलु भवतो धीरतां कल्पयामि ।
निःशब्दोऽपि प्रदिशसि जलं याचितश्चातकेभ्यः
प्रत्युक्तं हि प्रणयिषु सतामीप्सितार्थक्रियैव ।। ११० ।।

एतत्कृत्वा प्रियमनुचितप्रार्थनावर्त्मनो मे
सौहार्दाद्वा विधुर इति वा मय्यनुक्रोशबुद्धया ।
इष्टान्देशान्विचर जलद प्रावृषा संभृतश्री-
र्मा भूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ।। १११ ।।

इति कालिदासविरचितं मेघदूतं समाप्तम् ।।

Ew सखीं मे; Cs, सखीं तां; some Mss. सखीं स्वां.—*b*) J तस्मादद्रेस्त्रि-नयन–; T, Cs, Ew शैलादस्मात्त्रिनयन–. Some Mss उत्खातशृङ्गात्.—c) J साभिज्ञानं प्रहितवचनैस्तत्र युक्तैर्ममापि.—*d*) Cs भ्रातः; Some Mss प्रायः. J धारयेदं].

110. —*a*) Cv सोम्य.—*b*) Cv. c. st प्रत्याख्यातुं (also Kalyāṇamalla, Sar., Sumati and Mahima); Cs प्रत्यादेष्टुं; Cg अप्रत्यादेशात्; some Mss प्रत्याख्यानात्. Sumati and Mahima अधारतां T, Sh, Cv. s. g. b. Ew. g तर्कयामि (also,Sar.).—*c*) Cp निःशब्दो हि (also Param). Some Mss याचितं or यद्भवान्.—*d*) Cp. प्रत्युक्तं तु.

111. —*a*) J, Cm. (in En and Et) प्रियमनुचितं प्रार्थनादात्मनो; T, Ew. g. प्रियसमुचितं प्रार्थनं चेतसो; Cb प्रियसमुचितं प्रार्थनाचेतसो; Cm (in Ei and Ep), Es प्रियमनुचितप्रार्थनावर्तिनो.—*b*) Cb विधुरे इति सप्तम्यन्तं मयीत्यस्य विशेषणम्.—*c*) Sh, Cm. p. b जलद विचर (also Param and Sar.) by transp.—*d*) Cb मा भूदेव (also notices text-reading). J क्षणमपि सखे; T, Ew क्वचिदपि न ते.
After this natural conclusion of the poem, Cs. c insert and N Śīla-d. utilise the following verse:

*15 तं संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचाचचक्षे
प्राणांस्तस्या जनहितरतो रक्षितुं यक्षवध्वाः ।
प्राप्योदन्तं प्रमुदितमनाः सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः
केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेषु ।।

[variants: —*d*) अवितथफला प्रार्थनाम्युन्नतेषु].

N and Śīla-d. continue: Cs. c, Ew (also Kalyāṇamalla) insert:

*16 श्रुत्वा वार्तां जलदकथितां तां धनेशोऽपि सद्यः
शापस्यान्तं सदयहृदयः संविधायास्तकोपः ।
संयोज्यैतौ विगलितशुचौ दंपती हृष्टचित्तौ
भोगानिष्टानविरतसुखं भोजयामास शश्वत् ।।

[variants:—*d*) अभिमतसुखान्प्रापयामास]

Before these two verses (*15, *16) the following additional verses are found in some Mss. and commentaries:

*17 इत्याख्याते सुरपतिसखः शैलकुल्यापुरीषु
स्थित्वा स्थित्वा धनपतिपुरीं वासरैः कैश्चिदाप ।
मत्वागारं कनकरुचिरं लक्षणैः पूर्वमुक्तै-
स्तस्योत्सङ्गे क्षितितलगतां तां च दीनां ददर्श ।।

*18 तस्मादद्रेर्निगदितपथः शीघ्रमेत्यालकायां
यक्षागारं विगलितनिभं दृष्टचिह्नैर्विदित्वा ।
यत्संदिष्टं प्रणयमधुरं गुह्यकेन प्रयत्ना-
त्तद्गेहिन्याः सकलमवदत्कामरूपी पयोदः ।।

In some Mss and commentaries, the following poor verse, which insists on mentioning the name of the poem and the poet, is also found at the end:

*19 इत्थंभूतं सुरचितपदं मेघदूताभिधानं
कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयोगे विनोदः ।
मेघस्यास्मिन्नतिनिपुणताबुद्धिभावः कवीनां
नत्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ।।

[variants:—*a*) सुचरितपदं.—*b*) दुःखयुक्ते विनोदः.—*c*) कामं चास्मिन्मतिनिपुणतानन्यभावः]

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b. *Text in Anthologies*

Meghadūta, Text only

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In Dīnanātha Nyāyaratna's Kāvya-saṁgraha. Kāvyaprakāśa Press: Calcutta 1869. [Based on Haeberlin's text].

In Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Kāvya-saṁgraha. Nūtana Bhārata Press: Calcutta 1872. [Also based on Haeberlin]. 2nd ed. Sarasvati Press: Calcutta 1886; 3rd. ed. in 3 vols. with editor's own commentary, Sarasvatī Press: Calcutta 1888.

c. *Text with Commentaries*

Meghadūta, with the commentary Saṁjīvanī of Mallinātha

Ed. Benares 1849. In litho. [Another Benares ed. in litho 1867 and also from Kāśī Saṁskṛta Press, 1877].

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Ed. Gopal Raghunath Nandargikar. With English translation, copious notes and various readings. Gopal Narayan and Co.: Bombay 1894. [Uses a large number of MSS of the text and commentaries].

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[For other commentaries not yet in print, see under Manuscripts. Text with modern commentaries are not mentioned here].

2. Adaptation, Translation and Paraphrase

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Meghadūta, as embodied in Megha-samuccaya or Meghadūta-samasyā-lekha of Meghavijaya, ed. Jaina Ātmānanda-granthamālā, Bhavnagar 1914.

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3. Modern Translations

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4. Manuscripts

This List is not exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important item is omitted. MSS mentioned in Reports, Lists and Notices of Search of MSS are generally not mentioned, as well as MSS in private possession or existing in private libraries. Only MSS to be found in important libraries are listed here. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras University for compiling this list. The abbreviations are as given in his New Catalogus Catalogorum. C=Commentary; inc=incomplete; fr=fragmentary].

a. *The Text, occasionally with Gloss or Commentary*

Adyar II, p. 10b-11a (19 MSS, eight of which have C), p. 11b (2 MSS, both inc); Ahmedabad 93(a); Allahabad 175; Alwar 949; America 1626, 1631, 1636 (with C); Ānandāśrama 665 (with C), 3257, 4159, 4368, 4756, 5221 (with C), 6098 (with C); Annamalai Univ. 30; AU 29665, 32705; Baroda, Accession nos. 756, 790 (both with C), 4377, 4378, 4379 (with C), 5442, 12398, 13608, 4379 (with C); Ben 36, 37 (inc); Bik 238; Bikaner 3055-60, 3063-65 (C only); BISM B 936/22; Bonn Univ. 2210 (with C); BORI D xiii 2, nos. 494-497, 515, 520-25, 531-39 (some MSS with Tippana); Br. Mus. 224-25 (with C); Burnell 160b (2 MSS), 161a (5 MSS); Cabaton I Nos. 659 (2), 716, 717; Chani 2837, 2853, 3555; Cranganore Palace I 98, 148, II 428, 463 (with C); Cs VI 108, 109 (with C. inc), 207-210; CU Add. 2110; Dacca 33E, 256A, 321F, 408F, 1016B, 1079B,

1994, 2280 (inc); Delhi p. 10, no. 125; Firenze 432; Fl. 73, 74; GD 1867-72; Granthappura p. 89, nos. 1867-1874; H 72-74, 75, 77 (the last two with C), 78-79 (with gloss); Harihara Sastri xxxviii, 3; IIO 110, 129, 130; IM 7812 (inc), 8974 (inc), 9032 (inc), 9170 (with C), 10001, 10113, 10254, 10446 (inc), 10752 (inc), 11256; IO 3770/3060, 3771/2737, 3772/2019, 3773/1491d, 3781/2650 (with C), 6998-7003 (two with C); Jodhpur p. 10, no. 242; Jones 410 Kāmakoṭi Maṭha p. 11, no 441 (with C); Kandy I p. 45, nos. 3, 13; Kandy II p. 8, E 8 (with C, called Sanne); Karkal 22(f); Katm 6 (with C); J Keonjhar State No. 6(b); Kotah 721, Kāvya sec. No. 10; Lz 411-13, 415 (fr); Mad. Univ. 24 (Pūrva-m.), 476 (Uttara-m.), also 8 MSS—15 (Uttara-m.), 409, 551, 558, 592, (Pūrva-m.). 749, 768 (Pūrva-m.), 919 (same inc); Mandlik Libr. List p. 79 (2 MSS, one with C); MD 11869-11874 (inc), 11875 (inc), 11876, 11877 (Uttara-m.) 11881 (inc with C), 1182 (Pūrva-m. with C), 11883 (inc); Moodbidri II, 605 (inc), 717 (inc); MT 1171 (Uttara-m.), 4520a (Pūrva-m.), 4943c (Uttara-m.), 5182 (inc); Mysore I, p. 252 (2 MSS, one with C); Nepal p. 31 (inc), p. 56 (inc), p. 78 (inc); Oxf 125b; Oxf II, nos. 1249-50, 1251 (with C), 1253 (with C), 1254-55 (with C); Paris D 44: PUL II, p. 262, nos. 4502-04, 4514-15 (C only); Rāmeśvaram 212; RASB vii. 4947/2381, 4949/7810; SB p. 304 (2 MSS, with C); Skt. Coll. Ben 1897-1901, p. 41 (with C); Skt. Coll. nos. 119-24 (one MS fr.); Śrī. Dev. 338; SSPC II, C. 17, 22, 50, 59, 62 (all with C), 64, 91, 116, 156; Stein 71; TA 1173, 1176. 1838, 1842, 1903, 1907, 1955, 2112, 2147, 2763; TD 3864-69 (6 MSS, same as noted by Burnell, except Burnell 160b), 3870-73 (4 MSS, all inc, not noticed by Burnell), 23552; Tirupati 589; Tra. Ad. Rep. 1104, App. B p. 29 no. 160; Trav. Univ. 428B, 461B, 471C, 754A (inc), 999B (inc), 2536B, 4602 (with C), 6960 (with C); Triv. Cur. collection IV, p. 23; Trippunittura A 357, 365, 372, 387; Tub. 16; Ujjain p. 41, nos. 1074-76; Vangiya p. 202 (inc), 203 (Pūrva-m.); Viśvabhāratī 315 (with gloss), 831 (with gloss), 2332 (with gloss); W. 1537, 1544.

b. *Commentaries and Commentators*

Anvaya-bodhinī, Avacūri, Avacūrṇī or Kathaṁbhūti.

These are the descriptive names by which some of the Commentaries mentioned above are called.

Āṣaḍa: Ṭīkā. Mentioned by Bālacandra on Viveka-manjarī

Perhaps the same as Asaha or Āsaha mentioned by the commentator Janārdana (Peters, iii, 102, 324). Son of Kaṭuka; wrote the Vivekamañjarī in 1192 A.D. (P. K. Gode, Calcutta Oriental Journal, ii, 199f).

Uddyotakara: Ṭīkā. Quoted by Kalyāṇamalla on 47. Nāgeśa or Nagojī Bhaṭṭa (beginning of the 18th century) wrote a commentary called Uddyota on Govinda Ṭhakkura's Pradīpa commentary on Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa. Does Uddyota-kara then mean Nāgeśa?

Kanakakīrti-gaṇi: Ṭīkā or Avacūri. Pupil of Jayamandira, who was pupil of Jinacandra Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha.

Br. Mus. 224/Or. 2145b (MS dated 1462 A.D.); Lz 416 (no date).

(For edition, see above).

Kamalākara: Śṛṅgāra-rasa-dīpikā. Son of Caturbhuja and Mahlayi. Pays homage to Gaṅgādhara and Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha (about the end of the 16th century). Also wrote a comm. on Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya and Harivilāsa.
Bh 1904-6, p. 43.

Kalpa-latā
Peters. iv. 28; BORI 747 of 1886-92.

Kalyāṇamalla: Mālatī. Styled Rājarṣi, son of Gajamalla and grandson of Karpūra of Padmabandhu family. Patron of Bharata-mallika (q. v.).
IO nos. 3774/1584, 3777/529; Oxf 125b; L 2383 (vii. p. 148)

Kavicandra: Manoramā
L 3174 (ix, p. 251) in Bengali characters

Kaviratna Cakravartin: Artha-bodhinī
Dacca 1994 (70 G); RASB 4956/10802 (the title Cakravartin is here omitted)

(For edition, see above).

Kṛṣṇadāsa Vidyāvāgīśa: Ṭīkā. Also wrote a comm. on the Gīta-govinda.
Sūcīpattra 12.

Kaumudī and Kaumudī-kāra, quoted by Bharata-mallika on 60, 87, 90, 104, etc.

Kṣemahaṁsa-gaṇi: Ṭīkā, Pupil of Jinabhadra-sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. Also commented on Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra and Vṛtta-ratnākara.
Peters. iii. 395, vi. 346; BORI 329 of 1884-86, 346 of 1895-98.

Cāritravardhana or Cāritravardhana-gaṇi: Ṭīkā. Son of Rāmacandra Bhiṣaj; had the title of Vidyādhara or Sāhitya-vidyādhara. Probably belonged to the Kharatara-gaccha. Flourished between 1172 and 1385 (ABORI, xv, pp. 109-11) Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°, as well as on Śiśupāla°, Naiṣadha° an Rāghavapāṇḍavīya.
Peters vi. 345; RASB 4954/10070; BORI 345 of 1895-98.

(For edition see above.)

Cintāmaṇi: Ṭīkā
B 2, 98.

Jagaddhara: Rasa-dīpikā. A well known Maithili scholiast and son of Ratnadhara. Lived after the 14th century. Also commented on Kumāra° as well as on Mālatī-mādhava, Vāsavadattā, Veṇī-saṁhāra. Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, etc. Gives an account of himself in his C on Mālatī-mādhava.
L 1966 (v, p. 287) (in Maithili characters).

Janārdana or Janārdana Vyāsa: Ṭīkā or Bhāṣya. Pupil of Ananta. Also commented on Raghu°, as well as on Vṛtta-ratnākara and Kāvyaprakāśa. Date probably between 1192 and 1385 A.D. (P. K. Gode, Calcutta Or. Journal ii, 188f). Refers to three previous commentators by name, Vallabha, Asaha or Āsaha and Sthiradeva.
Peters, iii, 324; Baroda 2176.

Janendra: Ṭīkā
NW 616.

Jinahaṁsa: Ṭīkā. Pupil of Dharmasundara-gaṇi.
CPB 7777; Jinaratnakośa 314 enters one MSS.

Tattva-dīpa
Navadwip 694.

Dakṣiṇāvarta or Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha: Pradīpa. Referred to by Mallinātha, Dinakara and Cāritravardhana. Quotes the lexicographer Keśavasvāmin (end of the 12th century; author of Nānārthārṇava-saṁkṣepa) and is quoted by Aruṇācalanātha who is earlier than Mallinātha. Belonged probably to the 13th century.
Triv. Curr. III, p. 11, no. 86 (Dīpa), v, p. 32, no. 231; Cranganore Palace, I, 361.

(For edition, see above).

Dinakara Miśra: Ṭīkā. Son of Dharmaṅgada and Kamalā. Also commented on Raghu°, a MS of which in BORI is dated Saṁvat 1441 (=c. 1385 A.D.).; commented also on Śiśupāla°.
(Baroda 11364).

Divākara or Divākara Upādhyāya: Ṭīkā or Meghadūta-dyotikā. A protégé of a king of Mithilā. Quotes Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. Wrote before 1385 A.D. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra .
IO no. 3780/1516d; Mithila 3580; Mithila II p. 114 (inc); Hpr. iii, 237.

Niruktakāra, quoted by Mallinātha (Oxf 126a).

Parameśvara: Sumanoramaṇī. Son of Ṛṣi and Gaurī of Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiri family, Malabar (Cochin State). Appears to know the comm. of Pūrṇasarasvatī. His date is probably between 1400 and 1500 A.D. (about the middle of the 15th century). See Introd. to the ed. of his work and Poona Orientalist, ix, p. 148.
GD 1875; Granthappura, p. 89, no. 1875; Trav. Ad. Rep. 1104, App. B. p. 29 (no. 160); Trav. Univ. 615, 5114. The comm. exists in a longer and a shorter recension (See Adyar Libr. Bulletin, Feb. 1945 and C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume).

(For edition, see above).

Pūrṇa-sarasvatī: Vidyullatā. Pupil of Pūrṇajyotir-muni. Also author Ṛju-laghvī Mālatīmādhava-Kathā (ed. N. A. Gore, Poona 1943), Haṃsa-saṃdeśa (ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1937), and Rasamañjarī commentary on the Mālatīmādhava (ed. same series, 1953). Lived probably in the second half of the 14th century, or the first half of the 15 century. Since he quotes Citsukha by name he should be later than the first half of the 14th century.
Annamalai Univ. 36; Āvanapparambu Mana 183B; Chenp. 150(1); Elankulattu Kurūr Bhaṭṭatiri 7; GD 1873-74; Granthappura p. 89, nos. 1873 (inc), 1874, p. 92, no. 1948; ṃrangat Mana 150A; PUL II p. 262, no. 4510; TCD no. 1486; Trav. Ad. Rep. 2600; Trav. Univ. 99A (inc.), 142 (inc), 180, 267, 5983; Trippuṇittura A 184, 185, D 150a.

(For edition, see above)

Bṛhaspati. Quoted by Bharata-mallika on 70. Surnamed Miśra. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumār°.

Bhagīratha Kavi; Ṭīkā.
Varendra p. 3. no. 76

Bhagīratha Miśra: Tattva-dīpikā. Son of Harṣadeva of the Pītamuṇḍi family, lived under Jagaccandra of Kūrmācala (Auf. I, p. 394b). Also commented on Raghu°, Kirāta°, Siśupāla° and Naiṣadha°. May be the same as above.
L 221 (i, p. 127); SSPC II, C. 23 (both in Bengali characters).

Bharata-mallika or Bharatasena: Subodhā. A Bengali Vaidya or physician, son of Gaurāṅga-mallika, descended from the family of Vaidya Harihara Khān; protégé of Kalyāṇa-malla (q.v.). Lived about 1750 A.D. Had also the title of Kavirāja. Commented on the standard Mahākāvyas including Raghu° and Kumāra°, and wrote works and commentaries on grammar, lexicon etc.
AS p. 152; IO 3774/1584, 3775/994, 3776/415; Mithila II, p. 117; Oxf 125b; RASB 4958/4028.

(For edition, see above).

Makaranda Miśra: Megha-saudāminī
Alph. List. Ben. Govt. p. 91, 10761; RASB 4955/1076 (in Devaṇāgarī characters).

Mallinātha: Saṁjīvanī. Also called Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri (Pedda Bhaṭṭa), a well known scholiast who commented on the five standard Mahākāvyas including Raghu° and Kumāra°. Lived about the end of the 14th century. Also wrote a C on the Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara.
Adyar II, p. 11a (7 MSS, the last 4 inc); America 1632-34; AU 29665, 71161 n 25; Baroda 6558, 7251b; BBRAS 1213; Bikaner 3061-62; BORI vii. nos. 498-503 (6 MSS); Burnell 160b, 161a (8 MSS); Chani 2312, 2902; Copenh. 13; Granthappura p. 93, no. 1993; IO nos. 3774/1584, 3778/1398C, 7001; Jodhpur p. 10, no. 243; Kainur 13; Kizhakkumbāgattu Mana 51A; Lz 414 (fr); MD 11878, 11879, (inc), 11880, 11884 (inc), 11885 (inc), 11886, 15829 (7 MSS in all); Mithila 3581; MT 1771b, 4943c (both Uttara-m. inc); Oxf 125b; PUL II p. 262, nos. 4505-08; Rajapur 575; Srī. Dev. 338; Śṛṅgeri Mutt 311a; Stein 71 (2 MSS, one inc); TD 3874-84 (11 MSS, all noticed by Burnell, except the first and last, some inc); Trav. Univ. 856, 1344A (inc), 2536A, 3107, 3569A, 4002, 5516 (inc); Viśvabhāratī 1388, 2067 (inc).

Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi: Ṭīkā. Pupil of Śivanidhāna of Kharatara-gaccha. The C was composed in Saṁvat 1693.(=c. 1637 A.D.).
BORI no. 389 of 1884-87; Jinaratnakośa enters three MSS.

Mahīmeru: Bālāvabodha-vṛtti
Jaina Granthāvali p. 335.

Meghadūta-sthūla-tātparya
IO no. 3774/1584 (appended to the MS in two leaves giving an analysis, verse by verse, and a list of authorities).

Megharāja, Megharāja-gaṇi or Megharāja-sādhu: Subodhikā or Sukhabodhikā. Between 1172-1404 A.D. (P. K. Gode in Poona Orientalist, i. no. 3, pp. 50-51)
BORI 479 of 1889-1915, 390 of 1884-87 (dated Saṁvat 1460=c. 1404 A.D.).

Meghalatā
BORI 160 of 1882-83; L 3076 (ix. p. 163); Jinaratnakośa 314a (one MS.)

Moṭājit Kavi: Ṭīkā
BORI 392 of 1884-87.

Ravikara: Ṭīkā. Perhaps the same as Ravikara, son of Harihara, and commentator on Piṅgala and Vṛtta-ratnākara.
L 3371 (x, p. 112) in Bengali characters.
Rasika-rañjanī
Pallurutti 19B.
Rāma Upādhyāya: Ṭīkā.
Rice 238.
Rāmanātha Tarkālaṁkāra: Muktāvalī
IO 3774/1584; Oxf 125b.
Lakṣmīinivāsa: Śiṣya-hitaiṣiṇī. Son of Śrīraṅga and pupil of Ratnaprabha Sūri. Wrote before 1458 A.D.
America 1635; BORI 344 of 1895-98, 159 of 1882-83 (dated Saṁvat 1713= c. 1657 A.D.); H 76; Oxf II, no. 1252; W 1545 (gives the date Saṁvat 1514= c. 1458 A.D.).
Vatsa-vyāsa (or Śrīvatsa Vyāsa): Śiśu-hitaiṣiṇī. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°.
BORI 748 of 1886-92; Baroda 6089; Stein 71.
Vallabhadeva: Pañjikā. Surname Paramārthacihna. Son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva, father of Candrāditya and grandfather of Kayyaṭa. (Oxf 113b). Belonged probably to the first half of the 10th century. Commented on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṁkāra and the several standard Kāvyas of Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara, as well as on Raghu° and Kumāra°.
America 1633; Baroda 1837(b), 1844; BORI 82 and 84 of 1883-84; Br. Mus. 226 (C called Vṛtti, Pañjikā or Ṭīkā); H 74; PUL II, p. 262, no. 4509.

(For edition, see above)

Vijaya Sūri or Gaṇi: Ṭīkā. The C was composed in Saṁvat 1709=c. 1653 A.D. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°, where he is said to be a pupil of Rāmavijaya-gaṇi.
BORI 443 of 1887-91 (C called Sukha-bodhikā)
Viśvanātha: Durbodha-pada-bhañjikā
NW 626: Trav. Univ. 6960.
Viśvanāth Miśra: Meghadūtārtha-muktāvalī
L 399 (i, p. 224) in Bengali characters; Oudh xvii, 14 (Muktāvalī)
Śarva. Quoted by Bharatamallika on 88.
Śāśvata: Kavi-priyā. Refers to Vallabha.
L 2740 (vii, p. 187); RASB 4953/5646 (fr.)

(For edition, see above)

Śrīkaṇṭha and his Pupil: Ṭīkā
PUL II, p. 262, no. 4511.
Sanātana Gosvāmin: Tātparya-dīpikā. Son of Kumāra, brother of Rūpa and Vallabha and disciple of Caitanya whom he met above 1513 A.D. Scholar and Vaiṣṇava devotee. Flourished between 1490 and 1550 A.D.
IO 3774/1381A, 3779/1570; Oxf 125b.

(For edition, see above)

Samayasundara-gaṇi; Ṭīkā. Pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of

Jinacandra. Also commented on Raghu°, as well as on Vṛtta-ratnākara. He composed his Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra-vṛtti in 1636 A.D. at Ahmedabad.

PUL II, p. 262. no. 4513.

Sarasvatītīrtha: Vidvajjanānurañjinī. Narahari-Sarasvatītīrtha, born in Saṁvat 1298 (=c. 1242 A.D.) in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. Describes himself as the son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and grandson of Narasiṃha, who was son of Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra. Described as Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya. The C was written at Benares. Also commented on Kumāra°. Author also of the Bālacittānurañjinī comm. on Mammaṭa, where he gives an account of himself.

BORI 442 of 1887-91 (inc); Cambridge Univ. Libr. (Auf 1, p. 466b); CU Add. 2110; RASB 4957/10414.

Sāroddhāriṇī

BORI 157 of 1882-83 (dated Saṁvat 1617=c. 1561 A.D.).

Sumativijaya: Sugamānvayā. Pupil of Vinayameru, he is said to have completed his C on Raghu° at Vikrampura. Latter half of the 17th century (ABORI, xiii, pp. 341-43).

BORI 549 of 1891-95, 351 of A. 1882-83; the Jinaratnakośa 314a enters 4 MSS.

Sthiradeva: Bāla-prabodhinī. Mentioned by the commentator Janārdana (Peters. iii, 324), q.v. Date and provenance unknown; but since Janārdana's date lies between 1192 and 1385 A.D., Sthiradeva appears to be a fairly old commentator.

Alwar 949, Extr. 195; Baroda 1408, 12266; Mandlik Libr. List, p. 69, no. 10 (MS dated 1465 A.D.); Mithila ii, p. 115; TD 3885 (MS dated 1600 A.D.).

(For edition, see above)

Haragovinda Vācaspati: Saṁgatā. Son of Vaṅkavihārin Gaṅgopādhyāya of Krishnanagar in the Rāḍha country. Keith would identify him with Haragovinda Vācaspati, the author of Jñāpakāvalī belonging to the Saṃkṣiptasāra grammar.

IO 3774/1584; Oxf. 125b.

Haridāsa: Ṭīkā. Probably the same as Haridāsa Miśra, son of Viṣṇudāsa; commented also on Raghu° and Kumāra°.

Oudh xiv, 28.

5. Critical and Literary Notices

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J. Hertel in Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1912, no. 7, pp. 403-9. [Review of Hultzsch's edition].

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M. Krishnamachariar: History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. Madras 1937, pp. 359-64.
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T. Foulkes: Kālidāsa. A complete Collection of the various Readings of the South Indian Manuscripts, vol. i. Madras 1904.
T. K. Ramachandra Aiyar: A Concordance of Kālidāsa's Poems, ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan. University of Madras, 1952.

Variants from different commentaries in print and in ms. are noted here in the footnotes.

INDICES

PĀDA-INDEX OF STANZAS

INDEX OF INTERPOLATED VERSES

Given in the Footnotes

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Index of Geographical Names

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GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON THE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE MEGHA-DŪTA

(Given in the order of the Stanzas)

RĀMA-GIRI. The exact location of this hill is uncertain. Both Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha say that it is Citra-kūṭa. Wilson identified it with Ramtek 'the hill of Rāma', which is still a place of pilgrimage, situated about 24 miles to the north of Nagpur; and this conjecture is supported, according to V. V. Mirashi, by an inscription of Pravarasena II. Some would identify it with Ramgarh hill in the Madhya Pradesa, situated near Āmra-kūṭa, which is the source of the river Narmadā. Or, is the place as imaginary as the mythical Alakā ?

MĀLA. Perhaps Mallinātha is right in believing that Māla does not refer to any particular place, but it simply means an elevated table-land, implied by the word *āruhya*. Similarly Vallabhadeva would interpret it as an alluvial plateau. But some commentators understand by Māla *mālākhyo deśaḥ* or *māla-yogān mālava iti prasiddho deśaḥ*, while others explain it vaguely as *kṣetra-samūha*, *vana-bhūmi*, *grāmāntarāṭavī*, and so forth. Wilson thinks that a particular district is meant, and identifies it with a place called Malda in the vicinity of Ratnapur, the chief town of northern Chattisgad.

ĀMRA-KŪṬA. The hill is identified by Wilson with Amarkantak. But Paranjpe demurs to this with the following remakrs: "Amarakantak is 200 miles to the east of the straight line joining Ramtek and Bhilsa (Vidiśā), and the description *drutatara-gatis tatparam vartma tīrnah revām drakṣyasi* will be impossible in its case as it is the source of the Narmadā. Amarakantak, further, is in the Maikala mountain, and therefore *vindhya-pāde viśīrṇām* will be inapplicable to the river nearby, the Vindhya range being far away to the west. It must be some hill to the north of the Mahadev hills and south of Sohagpur."

REVĀ. This river is identified with the Narmadā, issuing from the Vindhya rocks.

DAŚĀRṆA. Eastern Malwa, including the kingdom of Bhopal, was probably the Western Daśārṇa, the capital of which was Vidiśā (Bhilsa); Eastern Daśārṇa formed a part of Chattisgad district. There is also a river with a similar name (Dasan) flowing through it, and falling into the Betwa.

VIDIŚĀ and VETRAVATĪ. This is modern Bhilsa, situated on the river Betwa. The river rises on the northern side of the Vindhya range, traverses the province of Malwa, and falls into the Yamunā near Kalpee towards the north-east corner of Allahabad.

NĪCAIḤ. Some hill near Bhilsa, but not necessarily a hill of small elevation as the name implies. Some would take it as the low range of Bhojapura hills lying to the south of Bhilsa.

VANA-NADĪ, NAVA-NADĪ and NAGA-NADĪ. Probably the small river which is reached after crossing the Betwa and which is now called Pārvatī (a near enough equivalent of Naga-nadī).

UJJAYINĪ and SIPRĀ. Modern Ujjain situated on the Siprā. It was the capital of the country (janapada) called AVANTI, which would correspond to ancient Malwa. It is also called VIŚĀLĀ. The temple of Śiva, called MAHĀKĀLĀ, stands in the city.

SINDHU. Identified with Kālī or Kālā Sindh which flows into the Chambal. Some commentators, including Mallinātha, take Sindhu to mean not a particular river, but river in general, and refer to the Nirvindhya. See our critical notes on this point.

NIRVINDHYĀ. It may be a small tributary of the Chambal between the rivers Betwa and the Kālī Sindh, probably the river called Newuj, (or according to others the river called Parwan), which flows into the Kālī Sindh. It is mentioned by Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa*.

SIPRĀ. See above under Ujjayinī.

GANDHAVATĪ. Probably a tributary of the Siprā, on which the temple of Mahākāla stands.

GAMBHĪRĀ. A small river in Malwa, which Paranjpe considers to be a tributary of Siprā, flowing into it south of Mehidpur. Also mentioned by Jinasena.

DEVA-GIRI. Situated obviously between Ujjayinī and Daśa-pura (Mandasor). Pathak believes it to be the same as "a place called in the map Devagara situated south of the Chambal in the centre of Malwa". There is a Devgarh situated 60 miles south-west of Jhansi, which is the site of a temple of Skanda; but Paranjpe thinks that this cannot be our Devagiri and that the place requires fresh identification.

CARMAṆVATĪ. Referred to as the Kīrti of Rantideva. It is the modern Chambal river.

DAŚA-PURA. It is probably the modern Dasor (Mandasor) in Malwa on the left bank of the Śivadā. Some would identify it with Rantipore or Ratnampore lying a little to the north of the river Chambal.

BRAHMĀVARTA. It is the region lying between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, accoridng to Manu ii, 17. Probably includes Sonepat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat.

KURUKṢETRA. Contiguous to Brahmāvarta, a little to the south-east of Thaneswar. Still a place of pilgrimage, especially at the time of eclipse.

SARASVATĪ. One of the sacred rivers of India which flows a little to the north-west of Kurukṣetra, and runs into the desert of Marwar where it is lost in the sands.

KANAKHALA. It is now the village of the same name near Hardwar on the west bank of the Ganges. According to Mallinātha, it refers to the hill through the gorge of which the Ganges desends but there is no such hill at this place.

CARAṆA-NYĀSA. A sacred spot in the Himalayas so called from its having a foot-print of Śiva. Wilson identifies it with *Har ka pairi* (the steps of Śiva) near Hardwar.

KRUÑCA-RANDHRA. Famed in the Purāṇas as the gap made in the Krauñca mountain by Paraśurāma; it is said to be used by flamingoes as a passage to the Mānasa lake. The geographical location is not known.

KAILĀSA and MĀNASA. The Kailāsa mountain (altitude 22,028 ft.) is said to be the mythical abode of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is situated due north from the centre of the Mānasa lake (altitude 14,900 ft.; area 133 sq. miles). Kailāsa is 16 miles from the north edge and 32 miles from the south edge of the lake.

ALAKĀ. The mythical abode of Kubera and the Yakṣas, supposed to be situated on the slopes of Mount Kailāsa.